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A SIGN IN THE HEAVENS

EASTER comes this year to a mankind which has lost courage and hope. The terrible consistency with which the forces of collapse have operated appalls men who, only a short time ago, were ready to suppose that no limits had been set by life or law to their ambition and predatory quest. But as surely as the tides recede, the surfeit toward which the demon led has been unmasked; and the sham festival is proved to be a grim fast, of which even the innocent partake. Not merely these innocent, however, but even also the guilty and heedless exact the full measure of Christian sympathy in this hour. For if they had known the blessing of the truth; if to them the message of the Cross had been a folly clearly transcending the futilities of their own wisdom: then, indeed, our common fate, as a society, would not be to feel on our backs the scourge of that awful execration which the Lord God placed on those who forget the naked, the hungry and the disconsolate.

For the Church was built on the conquest of death. That fact was so evident that for hundreds of years after the days of building, no manner of difficulties or perils could dim in faithful hearts the conviction that the Kingdom would be established and would endure. The early Christian consciousness was unworldly, yes. But it had no understanding of any unworldliness that could be known or secured except through virtue in this world. Man's future was in his hands exactly as was the transitory present. The thing that really mattered was to comprehend the way in which the victory could be gained. History shows us, as Newman says, how the Church conquers: "It is written, 'Thy people shall be *willing* in the day of Thy power'; and so it is fulfilled. And hence in the prophecies of Isaiah the *willingness* of the kings of the earth to humble themselves to the Church, is noted as a special characteristic of the spread of the Church. They are overcome by the beauty of holiness, and yield freely." Yield, that is, to none of the special forms of what is termed "ecclesiastical policy," but to that within the Church which is perennially the bloody cross and the empty tomb.

And the specific meaning? Christendom is not a dictator. Not a magically omnipresent, all-seeing policeman. Not a form of energy which manufactures righteousness. It is true that even in our time the total body of the faithful—whether formally or informally, consciously or unconsciously, wholly or in

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partial protest, adhering to the Church—has a certain strength of will, of collective power to desire and insist, which may at any time successfully demand this or that good. Nevertheless such strength is only one weight in a universe obedient to the law of gravity. Other groups may have quite as much or more. Christendom has always been without a guarantee of superior voting power. Today it is obviously *religio depopulata*—a religion of the minority. And even if this minority were, through some inconceivable stratagem, to seize authority for the good of the whole, it would perforce have in a measure to rule contravening its own faith—that is, it would be mere law to many, and injustice to some. No. The only thinkable way out is Newman's way.

Mankind's resurrection can take place only through the rising of Christ. And His Easter morn in turn had its necessary stark prelude on Calvary. God might, so far as our poor reason enables us to perceive, have granted to His merciful Son some other redeeming fate than the horror of hanging naked and nailed betwixt thieves; but if Divine Goodness truly willed mankind's salvation, it could not offer less than the rising after death. For solely by this could the virtue of the operative Christian life be guaranteed. This must always and everywhere be a crowning with thorns, a stripping bare, a difficult dying; but out of this bleakness there comes a harvest, out of this impending putrefaction, undreamed virility, out of this decease of the mortal, virtue's immortality. But society, the human power, cannot say to those whom it has outraged and starved: "Be Christian. Poverty is blest—your reward will be given yonder." That is unspeakable blasphemy. And if the Church has sometimes appeared to concur in saying it, that is only because a corrupt society now and then has even the power to corrupt human nature in the Church. Unfailingly this blasphemy is avenged. The poor, asked to mouth it prettily, serve God even as He is served in hell and speak His answering truth in their seeming rebellion. Often enough the people have been "willing" unwittingly.

The people are always only the chorus of mankind's play. They respond to, when they do not repeat, what is said to them. And so with economic and political government. All government is a focusing of power—power without exception in the hands of relatively few—into a dynamic formula. No government can add a jot or tittle to its own stature: it is automatically equivalent to the power, of brains and wealth and ingenuity, behind it. Most of all, however, it is morally equivalent to the virtue behind it. To the honesty, selfishness, generosity, charity behind it. There is no other possible definition of government.

Having said that much, we have said all. The government active in our present era is, perhaps, the most heinously anti-Christian in its visible results humanity has seen. It is not merely that millions have begged cups of water in vain. It is rather the fact that the Christian people, the chorus of our history, do not even know that the statements to which they respond are anti-Christian—that the cult of lawlessness in the pith of the law, of swining in money and luxury, of eating the cake and having it too, of basing a lust for material energy on human nature, are so many gross adulteries of mind with chaos. They do not even know, these people, that the health of government, in every form whatsoever, can only return when those who have central rôles in the human play strike their breasts in penitence. It will come back to the United States—in a small measure at least—when we see one man who would willingly forego election to high office in the interests of the truth; when one wealthy individual goes down to the poor instead of slaying himself in the dark; when one newspaperman of high standing is witnessed ready to covet ruin for justice's sake; when one preacher of routine ethics braves the hangman's ax; when some few, who have professed the gospel of comfort, put on thorns, stand bare and await death. That is the only way back to a Christian civilization. No, there is one other—the frenzied revolt of the chorus.

Thus the issue is clear. The Church is the life which rose with Christ. Kings, says Newman, humble themselves to it, by reason of the beauty of holiness. How awesome is this destiny for the least of us! That those who themselves beat their breasts in unworthiness before the Lord should themselves invite the contrition of the kings seems the greatest of paradoxes. But it is not so great, after all, as that He Who was dead lives again. And He does.

WEEK BY WEEK

The German Elections

THOUGH the victory of President von Hindenburg over Hitler was not as absolute, definitive and clear as one could have desired, it was nevertheless a victory which probably no other man could have gained and for which many thousands of Germans had ceased to hope. The result could have been a clean-cut decision—as clean-cut as Tannenberg itself—if the Nationalist party under Hugenberg's leadership had not decided to make a stand against Bruening. Doubtless the reasoning here was pretty much as follows: granted that the President and Hitler run pretty nearly neck and neck, the Chancellor's downfall will be assured, a government more nearly identified with the Right will be in order, and the run-off could then dispose of Hitler. Like virtually every other exercise in logic undertaken by Hugenberg, this one enjoyed the curious distinction of being absolutely wrong. It was the Chancellor who revealed himself as a shrewd and competent political generalissimo. Able to rely upon a solid Center party and upon a Social Democracy with its back to the wall, he used the split between Nazis and Nationalists to the best possible advantage in garnering additional ballots.

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That so large a vote was polled for the old President in these times is nothing short of a miracle. But unfortunately miracles do not grow on trees. Something important will have to occur if Germany is not to slip farther and farther down the incline to despair.

A Shower in Congress

THOUGH a gentle patter of rain was expected to follow the presentation of the Beck-Linthicum resolution to modify the Eighteenth Amendment, few were prepared for the shower which came. The resolution proposed that Congress vote for an alteration in the constitution enabling states so disposed to establish control of the liquor trade. Whatever may be said of the merits of this idea, there is scarcely any doubt of its wetness. And when the number of those who voted in favor of it mounted to 187, with only 227 drys opposing, the quotations for modification stock rose quickly. Of course the advocates of controlled liquor traffic were defeated, as had been predicted with certainty. But the number of their supporters was 20 percent larger than they had expected it to be, and 87 percent larger than the quota of opposition to the Volstead Act. At present the modificationists are within one-fifth of being as strong as the drys. This change of public sentiment, which the House has been slow to reflect because of the extraordinarily effective political organization of the militant prohibitionists, is surely a major event. It is rapidly growing more and more impossible to enforce the Volstead Act. That reposed, in the first instance, upon misplaced confidence in the civic influence of majorities. What will happen when the majority is no longer a majority?

Capital versus Labor

THERE is every prospect at present that the House will sustain the 75 to 5 majority of the Senate in passing the Norris anti-injunction bill, and thus rectify the evil so vividly described by Pius XI as follows: "With criminal injustice, they [governments] denied the innate right of forming associations to those who needed them most for self-protection against oppression." The bill as passed by the Senate not only clearly limits the grounds on which a federal court may grant an injunction in a labor dispute, but also affirms the right of labor to organize, without organization being construable *per se* as an act intended to damage the employer and therefore an act preventable by means of an injunction. Further bearing on this same point, the bill rules out of court what is familiarly known as the "yellow dog" contract by which employers have sought to force their employees, by the threat of withholding employment, to abstain from union activities. All of these provisions represent major objectives of the A. F. of L. and of all who have a reasonably liberal attitude toward the settlement of the disputes between capital and labor which have constituted a wearying and a wounding civil warfare constantly with us for the last seventy years. Labor's innate right to form associations we believe in as offering a visible, responsible and orderly means for adjudication of differences of interest between labor and capital with the best prospect of settlement on realistic issues with some approximation of that balance between opposing interests which is the essence of justice. Where capital opposes this right, we have seen it clearly writ in the record of facts that an extreme form of labor partizanship, commonly lumped under the heading of Communism, grows up which denies that capital should have any rights. Let Bourbons beware of arousing the power of the people to the pitch where it is blinded with rage. The Norris bill is a statesmanlike step away from this.

Balance Sheet of Stockholm

TO WHAT a limited extent American Catholics are interested in the problem of church union is evident from the virtually complete silence which followed the death of Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, who devoted much of his life to the cause and arranged the great Stockholm conferences. And yet this was a man who, despite a good deal in his thought and work which was definitely inimical to Catholicism, incited a theologian to say, "May God send us a Catholic Söderblom." In *Stimmen der Zeit,* Father Max Pribilla, S.J., dedicates an article to the archbishop's memory—an article so full of meat and practical common sense that one wishes many in this country could read it. We shall sketch just two of its several important points. Referring to Stockholm, Father Pribilla says that it ought to remind all "of truths and obligations which follow automatically from Catholic principles, but which are often obscured by misapprehensions and opportunistic considerations." The working in harmony with non-Catholic Christians for practical ends is, he declares, a duty which follows not merely from general moral principles but also from specific declarations of the Church's teaching authority. "Anyone who believes that the greatest strength of Catholics lies in 'splendid isolation' is living in a dream world and in ignorance of actual conditions," Father Pribilla says.

ONE OF the great difficulties is that so many people's thinking about church unity is couched in terms of immediate, on-the-spot conversions in wholesale lots. What Father Pribilla writes on this topic is so sound that we shall quote at length: "The ecumenical movement is not a convert movement, and in all human probability converts in large numbers are not to be expected of it. Exteriorly regarded, the Christian confessions will not be altered essentially either in the near future or in any time we can foresee. Therefore the constantly repeated question as to whether the 'others' will become Catholics is both beside the point and, under existing circumstances, even harmful. We are now in the first stages of a movement which seeks

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to free the relationships between the separated Christian confessions from the yoke of pure negation and to reinvigorate those relationships in the spirit of the positive Faith. At present, then, it would be most tactless and callous if Catholics sought to give the impression, by the attitude they assumed, that they had nothing at stake in a movement of this character and were interested only in conversions. That would both eliminate them and repel those of other beliefs. A man who undertakes to climb a high mountain should not ask at the start whether the top is soon to be reached. He must be satisfied if he approaches the distant goal step by step, perhaps circuitously. And in like manner effective work is to be done for the cause of Christian unity only by those who shoulder the burdens and hardships of the long road ahead."

Will Youth Be Served?

PERHAPS the most important advice that any system, educational, religious, political, aiming at permanence, can receive is: train your young leaders. To accord significance to the average, to satisfy the average to its capacity, are essential to any such system in modern times; but they are not enough to perpetuate the system beyond a generation or two. It is the super-average who must be looked to for that: and woe to that school organization, be it public, private or parochial, woe to that church in its human manifestations, woe to that political party, which does not possess or develop the means of satisfying, attaching, indoctrinating and stimulating its exceptional youth. Not only will it lose many of those most distinguished in mind and character—in itself a definite calamity, especially today, when the pressure and power of the average mind tell so disturbingly in thought and action everywhere. To its almost equal misfortune, it will not lose others: it will merely disillusion and antagonize them, and they will drag along in nominal allegiance to it, their cynicism, often their downright hostility, crippling and disabling its vigor and future effort. These reflections are perhaps a little portentous to have been caused by Governor Wilbur Cross's article, "Young Men in Politics," in the current *Forum,* since Governor Cross's tone is hopeful rather than despairing. But his facts are sobering enough to invite a repetition of a warning that never comes amiss in modern democratic civilization.

THE PURPOSE of the article is to suggest to superior young minds, just out of college, that they give some political organization the benefit of their fresh idealism (which Governor Cross specifically and rightfully recognizes in spite of its various "defense mechanisms"), as well as of their intensive scientific training in political and ecomonic history. This, of course, is precisely what Governor Cross himself did, though he is too modest to remind us of it, and hence no one has a better right than he to be hopeful that the recommendation will "take." Yet his first admission is that the sort of American college graduates he is aiming at are mainly interested in Soviet Russia. Not because they are Communists, but because they are open-minded, and impressed by resolute action, and because the Soviets have had the intelligence to invite their opinion, their observation and their friendliness. In contrast, American political parties offer nothing new or dynamic to attract youth's adventurousness; they are apathetic to the quality and value of youth, make no conscious appeal to it, have no technique for using it; and if, in spite of this, and of the barefaced and systematic corruption of so much of American politics, high-minded youth still becomes a party man, the party leaders are almost invariably too obtuse or too tyrannical to hold his loyalty and interest. There is no doubt that the governor is right in saying that a great natural leader in either party, or a "bold, unequivocal and progressive platform on the major issues of the day" would draw our best young men and women in hordes, eager to be made use of. But considering the ways of parties with both great natural leaders and major issues, we are not hopeful. It may be, of course, that the combination of the excellent "preliminary equipment" for politics given in our best universities (it was the subject of admiring wonder recently from Professor Laski, if we remember correctly) and the crying need throughout the country that just such training be applied—it may be that this combination will spontaneously produce the phenomenon of large numbers of these youngsters in public life. So far, however, the system has been too much for them.

Causes of Crime

IT IS suggestive indeed to have the National Probation Association yearbook, recently issued, ascribe among the five major causes of crime and delinquency the weakening grasp of the church on young persons. The book declares: "We very largely habituate ourselves and our children to question the validity of all that is traditional. This period of change unquestionably engenders factors of stress that are of outstanding importance in the incidence of delinquency." Whether or not this is true of the Catholic Church, it is certainly, as a matter of proportion, true of those outside the Catholic faith and may be considered an essential tenet, distinguished by the very name, of Protestantism. The phenomenon strikes us as being marked with one peculiarity which we have never seen sufficiently emphasized. This is that following the common habit referred to of questioning the validity of all that is traditional, the self-styled liberal seekers after truth examine all the critical evidence without giving one-tenth of their attention to the positive evidence. Concretely, in our non-sectarian schools and colleges respectful and considerable attention is given to the Voltaires and Anatole Frances and the Edward Gibbons, without proportional consideration of the Bossuets or Saint Thomases or Newmans or Jacques Maritains. For all the thousands of readers

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of novels of rebellious, and inevitably tragic, flaming youths and elders, or the flippant essays of brilliant young men such as Aldous Huxley, how many equipose their information or mental content by reading the life of a saint, or essays certainly not lacking in brilliance or literary merits such as the current "Essays in Order"? For confirmed illiberalism we believe it would be difficult to surpass the so-called liberals, and the sooner the myth of their position is exploded, the better it will be for everyone—especially themselves.

A Lewis Carroll Memorial

SOLID social usefulness rarely combines so happily with poetic appropriateness as it does in the project to establish the Lewis Carroll Ward for Children in St. Mary's Hospital, London. The list of the patrons and sharers of the plan would have been warrant enough, ahead of time, for the certainty that their decision, whatever it turned out to be, would at least bear a gracious and unusual character. When a group including men like Sir James Barrie, E. V. Lucas, Walter de la Mare and A. A. Milne put their heads together to devise a lasting memorial for a man like the creator of "Alice," the result will at any rate not be banal. The actual proposal has much more than that negative excellence. It is a beautiful idea that, in the name and for the grateful love of one who is hallowed by innocent childish delight everywhere, children's bodily anguish will be eased and children's health will be restored. The plan is to appeal to "the most generous consideration of lovers of 'Alice' throughout the world," and that, too, is as right as it can be. As it will be, in the nature of things, mainly English children who will enjoy the benefaction of the Ward for Children, it will be the duty and the pleasure of children—and, of course, their grown-ups—everywhere else to help make that benefaction possible, in partial return for what Lewis Carroll, the Englishman, did for them.

Are Generals General?

ONE OF our favorite, and perhaps vaguest, ideas is that out of the present hard times will emerge a sounder standard of values in our beloved country. This whole matter involves the discussion of whoppingly general general ideas. Still we should be the last to apologize on this score. One of the misconceived values in our country in the immediate past, we believe, is the idea that general ideas are impractical. We believe they are of the essence and foundation of all immediately practical ideas, or those numerous and apparently unrelated apperceptions and judgments of the individual as to his specific actions in specific circumstances. Good old rabble-rousing oratory, with the magnificent platitudes, seems to have made way for a dry style of public utterance that runs to statistics and a recital of specific cases. It is rare to have those in the position of leadership come out today and declare, "That is right, and that is wrong, and I am for the right." To which the populace may respond, "Hurrah, so are we; we're for the right, we're for you," and thereupon go back to their everlasting labors for their daily bread with the glad inner conviction that they are for the right and that they have a champion.

THIS conviction would reflect itself beneficently in endless little practical ways, we believe. The fathers of our country, and Lincoln, were long on general ideas, magnificent phrases on the possibilities and virtues of the Demos. Sovietism at present has a tremendous advantage because it is able to appeal to great masses of persons with general ideas. Realization may lag several revolutions behind, but at least great numbers have been given a common orientation which will make history through the sum of their moments being, in the language of physics, a resultant of force. We of course cannot help being conscious that the Catholic Church in its international corporate body is the greatest single medium for the direction of masses of men and women to the consideration of general, or abstract, ideas. In our own country at present, out of common hardships we hope will be born finer perceptions of our common destinies and leadership which will be able to identify positively the broad principles for which we can all work with equal hope.

BRIAND AND THE PEACE DOVE

ARISTIDE BRIAND was an artist. His fingers, his eyes, his attitude toward life were those of a super-bohemian pal of Degas and Forain. And as a statesman who for many years gave what was best in him to promote the well-being of France, he retained the adroitness of touch and the masterly levity of a great painter. In his best hours, he could make the tangled map of Europe look as rational as a sketch by Le Corbusier, as well-designed as an Ingres drawing. That is one reason why men of affairs in his own land continued to mistrust and even to despise him. For them realities must always be crude, just as the slag of a blast furnace is merely slag to industrialists until somebody proves to them that fine edifices in brick can be made out of it—at a profit.

How much remains of the peace crusade engineered by Briand? In some respects not a great deal. The Continent as a whole has been rocking under the impact of combined collapse and nationalist feeling. It is as if a fierce wind were blowing outside at the same time that a raging fire was gaining headway inside the house. What the forces of economic debacle have not managed to accomplish, the combined energies of the patriots have tried to perform. But one must not forget the existence of solid constructive opinion which has resisted every resort to extremism. The German elections, whatever else may be said concerning them, afford solid proof that, despite torrents of emotion and equally sizable torrents of promises, the resolve to hold on,

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to build up slowly and to progress intelligently still characterizes the people of the Reich. And in France there is equally impressive evidence that high-power chauvinism simply ignores the hopes which common citizens have placed in their government.

Nevertheless it is the Catholic Church which, at least in so far as the Holy See is concerned, clings tenaciously to the ideal of a pacified and reconstituted Europe. Too many tokens of favor were sent from Rome for Briand to render possible any supposition that the purposes of this diplomat were not endorsed by the Vatican. Of course it hardly follows that the papal policy is necessarily and infallibly right. The point has been stressed in several Catholic publications, notably Belgian, who do not assent to the peace program. But though the Holy See's attitude toward nationalism and armament may conceivably be mistaken (we ourselves are, of course, strongly in favor of it), the fact remains that this attitude has been welcomed as a social blessing by millions of the poor and the bereft, who see in it a guarantee of better days for their children and of security for civilization.

Briandism began almost immediately after the war, though the now dead statesman for a long time had no very active part in promoting it. The spade work was done by far-sighted diplomats, English and French, who realized that recovery from the disaster of war would be impossible on the basis created at Versailles. One of them—or perhaps more than one—succeeded in convincing Stresemann, until then a diehard, that the future of Germany depended upon industrial coöperation with France. For this step the future Reich Minister was, of course, prepared by his knowledge of commerce up and down the Rhine. Nevertheless the Ruhr invasion, currency inflation and other evils had first to be experienced before the British, in a memorable parliamentary session, adopted the German suggestion of a security pact to govern the Rhenish territories.

At Locarno Briand and Stresemann met. For both the question thenceforth became this: How could France acquire guarantees of security while Germany was recovering its economic strength? Paris was governed by a psychology which beheld in every new chance to breathe which came to the nation across the Rhine another step toward regained belligerent power. Berlin, just then exposed to a nationalist whip, was meanwhile thinking of little excepting how to throw sand into the eyes of the conquerors. Locarno was, therefore, a dangerous venture for both statesmen; and it might have turned out badly for them if the British had not realized its value to themselves. From this time forward Europe went from step to step up the long ladder to pacific reconstruction, simply because the British (implicated in an almost hopeless economic mess) were tired of a brawling and squabbling Continent and gladly supported the two men in Germany and France who talked sense.

Everything went on well enough until the three parties to the venture were successively weakened. First, Stresemann died and the Young Plan was delivered to a people who knew that their economic status required far better treatment. Second, the influence of the British began to wane. While the empire was observably weakening in this part and that, British credits extended abroad were frozen as a result of untoward events. London had banked strongly on a sound American banking and marketing system, and was caught unawares in the greatest crash history records. Third, French imperialists momentarily gained absolute control of their country's foreign policy and staked everying on a revised and strengthened version of the Little Entente. When Germany attempted to challenge this, as it almost inevitably had to, by proposing a revision of the Polish boundary and an Austro-German customs' pact, the entire press of Paris was hurried to the front. The pressure brought to bear on the Central Powers at Geneva, and subsequently on the Hague Court, ended one period in the history of conciliation. Momentarily the British were out of the fighting. Briand had failed—indeed it began to look as if his life-work had been nothing but the vainest effort—and certain tentative overtures by Chancellor Bruening had no constructive effect.

The three powers went to Geneva for a conference on armaments. This was prefaced by an utterly meaningless bid for "security" by M. Tardieu, who demanded a gift neither of the others could bestow. It ended with the death of Briand. Literally stuffed in armor, post-war Europe—which twelve years before had dreamed of nothing but lasting peace—seemed headed for a clash symbolized by the petty conflicts between Hitlerites and Republicans in all parts of Europe. No statesman we know of would have given five cents, a month ago, for pacification. All in all the outlook was as dark as any pessimist could desire.

But the end was not yet. Little by little the British have begun to recover a good deal of lost ground, and to envisage their own destiny more bravely and collectively. Germany proved that, despite more woes than could be enumerated in a book, the hopes attached to an era of Republican institutions were not dead, and allowed the Chancellor to maneuver the Fascist opposition into another impasse. In France many groups of moderates surged forward, some sponsoring the papal ideals openly and courageously, others insisting upon principles held sacred by labor. Thus a new "front" was quickly but skilfully improvised, the forces of reaction were halted, and civilization was enabled to look forward more confidently to inevitable discussions of major economic and political questions. In short, the moment of Briand's death coincided with a revival of his purposes. That is an amazing fact—amazing not alone because it demonstrates the vitality of the Western consciousness but also because it proves once again the imperturbable force of a great man. Such a one does not really die until his purpose has been served. And Briand did have a tremendous purpose.

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THE FEDERATION OF LABOR: A DEFENSE

By JOHN P. FREY

Last week THE COMMONWEAL *published an economist's indictment of the American Federation of Labor. The following paper is a rejoinder, written by a man as familiar with the fortunes and purposes of the federation as anyone now living. While Mr. Frey does not challenge all the assertions of his opponent, he holds that most of them refer to conditions—i.e., immigration and mechanization—over which labor necessarily had no control. "The American Federation of Labor," he says, "is as militant, confident and active as any organization in our country."—The Editors.*

A CAREFUL reading of Mr. Hirschfeld's "indictment" appearing in the last issue of THE COMMONWEAL, fails to disclose any original criticism or point of view. The more or less general criticism of the American Federation of Labor was stated more definitely and argumentatively over forty years ago by Daniel DeLeon, founder of the Socialist Labor party.

DeLeon professed to believe that the philosophy and economics of the American Federation of Labor were unsound, its policies futile and its accomplishments for the wage earners' welfare of minor practical value. His slashing attacks against the American Federation of Labor have become the principal source from which more recent critics of the American trade union movement have secured their material. But DeLeon's feverish mind has been stilled. The organization which he fondly hoped would supplant the American Federation of Labor, was dissipated like mists before the rising sun.

The indictment is not an attempt to present a balanced valuation of the American Federation of Labor. Instead, it is quite frankly an indictment consisting of destructive criticism, a form of criticism which is not without its value. Yet, even in destructive criticism, whatever value it contains must depend upon the accuracy of the facts and statements upon which it is based. It is not difficult to magnify and overemphasize the shortcomings and failures of any human institution, and in doing so to fail to give any balanced presentation of its accomplishments.

Unfortunately, the indictment is seriously weakened in its first paragraphs. If the quotation, "to make labor a contented and prosperous partner of business in the American system of acquisition and enjoyment," is attributed to Mr. Gompers, then Mr. Hirschfeld's source of information was misleading, for Mr. Gompers never made such a statement. His viewpoint, his understanding of the principles involved, his purpose, was quite different. If the quotation is from someone else's opinion as to Mr. Gompers's position, the authority should have been named.

Apparently the author of the indictment has assumed that the authors of "Der Fabrik Arbeiter in der amerikanischen Wirtschaft," are competent authorities upon "the total wages paid out in 1899" and in 1928. There are no authoritative data giving the total amount of wages paid in the United States in 1899. The only authoritative data begin in 1909, and are found in "The National Income and Purchasing Power" by Willford I. King, published by the National Bureau of Economic Research. The indictment informs us that the total wages paid in 1928 were $10,310,314,450. We find, from Dr. King's authoritative study, that the total amount of wages paid out in the United States in 1928 was $32,235,000,000.

It is not surprising, after discovering a misquotation and a most astounding error in statistics at the very beginning of the indictment, to find that many of the conclusions which are reached by its author are based upon equally unsound facts and premises.

It was the American Federation of Labor which first called attention to the economic fact that the buying power of the American workman had not risen in proportion to the annual volume of wealth created by industry. It is not an accurate statement to say that the "federation leaders enthusiastically joined in the chorus of praise over the unequaled prosperity." The leaders of the American Federation of Labor did not believe that the nation was enjoying unequaled prosperity. They were strongly of the opinion that what was being popularly accepted as unequaled prosperity, was, in reality, an industrial and business condition so economically unsound that, unless checked, it would work dire disaster to the nation as a whole.

At the 1925 convention of the American Federation of Labor this viewpoint was definitely stated. The wage policy of the American trade union movement was placed upon an entirely new basis. The declaration was adopted that "industry and commerce must suffer serious injury, unless the real wage, the purchasing power of wages, increased in proportion to industry's increasing capacity to produce." In other words, long before the so-called prosperous years of 1926, 1927 and 1928 had arrived, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor vigorously called attention to the economic disaster which was unavoidable, unless the consuming capacity of the mass of the people, 80 percent of whom were wage earners or their dependents, was maintained through the payment of economically sound wages.

To charge the American Federation of Labor, as the indictment does, from keeping the truth from American labor, is to ignore the facts. Speeches made at conventions of the American Federation of Labor in 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928 and 1929, the columns of the *American Federationist,* the official publications of the International Unions, the pages of the local labor

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press, contain overwhelming evidence of the vigorous manner in which trade union leaders called attention to the economic unsoundness of the so-called prosperity, and to the menace to national stability which existed in the inflation taking place.

In the financial, industrial and commercial conditions existing prior to 1929, the leaders of the American trade union movement saw danger to their organization, to the wage earners as a whole and to the nation. In their economic understanding of the part which wages must play in maintaining an economic balance, they met with volumes of criticism from statesmen, politicians, publicists, newspapers and many economists. But within the last three years the position taken by the American Federation of Labor in 1925 on the economics of wages, has received the outspoken support of the President of the United States, the leaders in Congress, many executive heads of our great corporations, business men and the majority of economists.

The indictment asserts that enthusiasm is slackening within the trade union movement, that trade union membership is decreasing, that the American Federation of Labor is less vigorous in its complaints against industrial injustice, and that in 1930 "it had its hands full handing out songs of praise glorifying the American workman." Unquestionably, there existed conditions from 1921 to 1929 which operated to retard trade union growth. Since 1929 another set of conditions have placed a serious handicap upon membership and revenue. But it is not a loss of membership or of revenue which should be accepted as a test of either purpose, efficiency or accomplishment. The real test is the capacity for resistance which is indicated when new, dislocating and far-reaching conditions suddenly impose themselves.

It would not have been a difficult matter for critics, let alone one who indulges only in destructive criticism, to have painted a most woful picture of the lack of leadership, incompetency and lack of enthusiasm which existed in the Colonial armies during a goodly portion of the Revolutionary War. The Continental troops were frequently defeated in battle. More of their time was spent in retreats than in attacks. There were jealousies, there were cabals within the army's official family. There were times, as at Valley Forge, when even constructive critics might have despaired. But for many years we have realized that there was something in addition to what appeared on the surface, which kept the love of liberty and devotion to an ideal alive and active. In the end, the criticized, underdisciplined, poorly equipped, often defeated Continentals won a victory which gave birth to our great country and made its free institutions a human possibility.

No criticism of the progress made by the American Federation of Labor is sufficient unless it recognizes the tremendous handicaps, the revolutionary industrial changes which the American trade union movement has been compelled to face in recent years, particularly since 1914. Mass production had its origin and its fullest development in our country. Here types of automatic and semi-automatic machinery largely had their origin. It was here that the specialization of work in our manufacturing industries, supplanting the work formerly performed by the skilled craftsman, was first introduced on a large scale. Instead of an individual shoemaker making a pair of shoes, a hundred workmen using machinery, each performed a minute part of the work required to complete the shoe. The automatic glass-bottle blowing machine, eliminated the skilled bottle blower. The machine eliminated practically all labor, for it was automatic, and the one workman in attendance was present for the sole purpose of stopping the machine if something went wrong.

The far-reaching effect of mass production upon labor, skilled and unskilled, plus increased use of power, machinery and processes, is evidenced by the fact that over 900,000 workers were eliminated from our manufacturing industries between 1919 and 1929. Yet, in the latter year, with over 900,000 less employees than ten years before, our manufacturing industries produced, in volume and in value, a much larger output. The statistics are significant. The Census of Manufactures, gathered by the Federal Census Bureau, indicate that, in round numbers, the value of our manufactured products in 1923 was $60,529,000,000, while in 1929 it was $69,417,000,000. Output increased while the number of workmen employed were rapidly reduced. This enormous displacement of labor in the manufacturing industries, was being paralleled by a similar condition on our railway transportation systems, and in agriculture. The impact of these rapid and revolutionary changes created problems which profoundly affected the trade union movement.

There was another condition making sound, practical trade union growth more difficult in the United States than in any other country. Immigration had flowed unchecked into the United States. Much of it had been artificially induced. As many of our American manufacturing corporations grew in size, they gave evidence of a strong desire to replace American workmen by those from central and southern Europe. In addition, steamship companies actively stimulated immigration because of the profit found in the third-class passengers.

Many of these immigrants came from countries whose customs and traditions were conflicting. They had inherited prejudices which were racial and national, and in many instances religious animosities which had developed and crystallized over many hundreds of years. They brought these prejudices and viewpoint with them. A majority of these immigrants immediately located in the larger cities and great manufacturing centers. They were aliens in an alien land, they spoke an alien tongue. They sensed the exploitation which they were frequently subjected to, and for self-protection looked first to the leaders of their own race, and too frequently these leaders in turn selfishly exploited them for the benefit of politicians and industrialists.

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The American trade union movement, in endeavoring to organize the immigrants and the first generation, were confronted with the most difficult problem which has ever faced a national trade union movement. That it failed to bring a majority of these newcomers into the trade union movement is not a reflection upon its capacity, for even the most destructive critics of our trade union movement would not expect us to perform miracles. But the American Federation of Labor, from its beginning, has maintained this principle—that membership should never be based upon the workman's political or religious beliefs, or upon his racial origin. Those who are sincerely interested in making valuable citizens of those who have come to our shores have often asserted that the most effective force in the country in extending Americanization work among the foreign-born was the American Federation of Labor.

In still another way the American trade union movement had been handicapped as in no other industrial country. There has developed a judicial point of view or doctrine existing up to the present time, which has held that practically all trade union activities to which employers objected were, in reality, criminal conspiracies to injure the employer. Fortunately for our country, this judicial doctrine is breaking down under the far-reaching educational work which the American Federation of Labor has vigorously carried on.

But the judicial attitude and construction has been a most serious handicap to the development of trade unionism or to the maintenance of existing organizations. Shortly after the war a widespread, systematic effort to eliminate trade unionism from our principal industries was set into motion. One of the methods was the use of "yellow dog" contracts, an alleged form of contract between the employer and the workman, in which the latter, as the price of securing or retaining his job, pledged himself to refrain from any collective action with his fellow employees on matters affecting his term of employment or conditions of labor.

Certain decisions of the United States Supreme Court were accepted as giving a legal standing to such alleged labor contracts. Through their use workmen were frequently forced to choose between quitting their job or abjectly surrendering their right to trade union organization. In several instances where employers had forced "yellow dog" contracts upon their employees, the firm's attorney would send a formal letter to the International Union of the trade affected, informing its officers that their clients had entered into these alleged contracts with all of their employees, and that any attempt made by trade unionists to reorganize them would be an attempt to prevail upon the employees to breach their labor contract and lead to immediate court action.

As a result of the rapidly extending use of "yellow dog" contracts, the trade union movement began a legislative campaign to secure remedial legislation. The legislative measure sought, which declares such contracts to be contrary to public policy and therefore null and void, has been enacted in five states, with every prospect that it will soon be the law of every industrial state, and it has also been incorporated in the measure regulating injunctions which, as these lines are being written, is being considered by Congress.

To assert, in view of these handicaps with the tremendous problems they involve, that the American Federation of Labor lacks enthusiasm or purpose, is to be impressed by the foot-hills while failing to see the mountain range at whose feet they lie. Instead of being a decadent organization lacking enthusiasm, the American Federation of Labor is as militant, confident and active as any organization in our country.

The indictment of labor's attitude toward the tariff, would be much more impressive if it were more accurate in its premises. Neither the American Wage Earners Protective Conference nor the American Federation of Labor has declared itself for or against the principle of a tariff, and so far as the American Wage Earners Protective Conference is concerned, it has not approved of the existing tariff law as a whole, directly or indirectly, officially or unofficially.

Accepting the fact that the maintenance of a tariff is a definite part of the American policy, a group of International Unions within the American Federation of Labor believed that a tariff should work as advantageously for employees as for the employers who benefited through protection. They insisted that, so far as their own skilled trades were concerned, the tariff should protect them from the cheaper labor of Europe and Asia. The shoeworkers were unwilling to see their opportunity for making a livelihood taken from them because the tariff on shoes would permit shoe manufacturers in foreign countries, using American-made shoe machinery, to flood the market. For the same reason a number of other skilled and organized trades sought to prevent the destruction of their opportunities for work and their standard of living. The trade union group did insist upon two general features in the tariff law: one, which would prevent "dumping"; and the other, which would prevent the entry of goods produced by convict or other forced labor.

There is no need to argue the case. The facts surrounding labor's determination to protect itself under a tarff system, stand for themselves. But I would call attention to this fact—that the particular items in the tariff in which certain trade unions were interested for their own protection, did not result in any higher prices than formerly; in fact, the reverse has been the case. Prices have been lowered and apparently will remain so for a long period of time.

Unfortunately, the indictment in its constructive phase offers nothing new. Collective buying, cooperative production and distribution, were introduced into this country by the great English philanthropist and Socialist, Robert Owen, many years ago. It has been tried time and again by many groups in addition to trade unionists, and so far as our country is concerned

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it has not found fertile soil. As an attempt to deal with present-day economic problems, it is as futile as anything which could be considered. Widely applied, it might, to some extent, reduce the commercial groups, the distributors, and, as it may well be that the distributors, in many instances, charge too high a price for their services, it might be helpful in that direction. But so far as the basic economics of our industrial problem are concerned, the all-important factor is to maintain the peoples' consuming capacity, and so far as the wage-earning group are concerned, this depends upon the real wage contained in their pay envelopes.

What the nation needs and, for that matter, what it must have if we are to establish normal, stable, healthful industrial conditions, is a wage having a sound economic relationship to the annual volume of wealth produced by industry. The wage earners' function as a consumer must be given equal importance with their services as a producer.

Coöperation is an essential element to industrial relations, but it cannot solve any general economic problem unless, first of all, and at all times, the wages paid are based upon an economically sound distribution of the wealth being produced by industry.

THE POLISH CORRIDOR

By AUGUR

AT THE root of most political problems in Europe lies the fact that Christianity has been the impulse which, more than any other, has molded the old Continent into its present social and cultural formation. For the Church was the chief agent of the splendid renascence from the darkness after the fall of the ancient Roman Empire.

More than ten centuries ago the Franks, a Germanic tribe, established in the north of what today is France, were ruled by a strong king. This Charlemagne was a great warrior and conqueror. But he has gone down into history not because of the blood he shed, but because he changed the whole aspect of the European situation by concluding an alliance with the Pope in Rome. In those days the Church was the guardian of the remnants of the science of knowledge—even of the art of war—of a more civilized age. The power of the clerical organization, by adding itself to the physical resources of the barbarian kingdom, gave to the latter an irresistible superiority over all its neighbors. Charlemagne, under the banner of the Cross, marched his army across the Rhine into the land inhabited by a welter of heathen tribes, most of them of Slav origin. Thus was laid the foundation of the violent *Drang nach Osten,* which led to the creation of modern Germany. Charlemagne's advance posts in this wild East were the forts he built on the Elbe: Hamburg and Magdeburg, in the heart of Slav territory. The Slav tribes, which before Charlemagne's day occupied the major part of what is now Germany, coming westward nearly to the Rhine, went down one after the other, and were absorbed gradually in the advance of a higher state organization. From the ethnical point of view, therefore, the so-called Germans, principally to the east of the Elbe, are often nothing else but Germanized Slav elements. Up to this day, in the close neighborhood of Berlin, in the so-called Lausitz, thousands of the ancient Slav inhabitants survive with their ancient language and customs, as a living proof of the contention that in olden days most of modern Germany was the land of the Slavs.

The *Drang nach Osten* obtained its spiritual impulse from the organizing guidance of the Church, which, as has been said, had allied itself with Charlemagne and his successors for the victory of Christianity in the east of Europe. But in that part of the Continent soon a new factor arose: the might of the Poles. To the east of the Slav tribes in the basin of the Elbe, on the Oder and on the Vistula, was the ranging ground of the clans and families of the Polish branch of the Slav race. Whilst their western relatives were being gradually exterminated, the Poles found the time to attain a higher form of state organization, and, most important of all, they accepted Christianity. This brought to an end the Germanic monopoly of the support of Rome. The Church accepted Poland as its favored child, with the result that a halt was imposed upon the *Drang nach Osten.* Later it was resumed, but jumping across the land of Christian Poland against the still heathen tribes, akin to the Lithuanians, which inhabited what we know today as East Prussia, a territorial enclave since the thirteenth century in the Polish and Lithuanian possessions. But the Slavs of Polish stock, holding the Vistula down to the sea, were never removed, and formed the basis of the access to the Baltic, which the Polish kingdom possessed during the larger part of its existence, and which after the Great War was returned to the resurrected Polish Republic as its most precious possession. This is the so-called Polish Corridor, in reality a large province, with a predominantly Slav population of over 1,000,000. Its real name is Pomorze, that is, the country by the sea.

Until the eighteenth century the German *Drang nach Osten* was arrested by the bulwark of the Polish state. Prussia, centered around Berlin, watched with an unblinking attention for every chance to weaken its powerful neighbor. The outstanding success of the Prussian state was, when it took over from the degenerate descendants of the original crusaders, the East Prussian territory. This acquisition was so important that it soon gave its name to the whole state of which Berlin was the capital, and which originally was known

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as Brandenburg. But the Corridor remained a Polish possession, and Danzig, a city colonized by German merchants, waxed rich on the great flow of Polish trade. Having acquired East Prussia, the princes in Berlin strove to weaken the great Polish neighbor.

These aspirations could never have materialized, if it had not been for the presence on the eastern border of Poland of the immensely powerful Russian Empire, awakened to an outburst of titanic energy by Peter the Great at the opening of the eighteenth century. The ruling dynasty in Russia became Germanized through a chain of marriages, and the climax in this respect was reached in the reign of Catherine the Great, a German princess, who had begun her reign by causing the murder of the legitimate sovereign, her own husband, Peter III. This remarkable ruler was the firm ally of Frederic the Great, the famous King of Prussia. They scientifically went to work to destroy Polish independence altogether, and in 1792 took place the first of the celebrated partitions, which soon were to lead to the total disappearance of Poland as an independent state in Europe. Prussia, with a large chunk of Poland, obtained possession also of the much-coveted Corridor, so that her territory, in an uninterrupted belt, reached eastward along the shores of the Baltic Sea.

But Poland was too vital a thing to be destroyed forever in this manner. In spite of a century of oppression, colonization, Germanization and Russification, the Polish nation survived. In its misfortune it became stronger. The Great War liberated it. The thirteenth of President Wilson's famous points demanded the freedom of a Polish state with a free access to the sea. And Poland stands in Europe today, a strong national republic, side by side with Germany.

As a result of their defeat in 1918 at the hands of western Europe and of America, the Germans at the peace lost territories to the west as well as to the east. France obtained the return of Alsace-Lorraine, a province to which her right was well established, but no better established than the right of Poland to the so-called Corridor. In fact, from the ethnical point of view the population of Alsace-Lorraine, though French in its sympathies, was of Germanic stock, whilst the people in the Corridor by race and by sympathies were equally Polish. But France after the war stood as the mightiest state in Europe, with which it would be unwise to try to settle accounts against her wish. So German resentment concentrated upon the Poles, who were considered interlopers, taking advantage of a neighbor's plight to deprive him of his property.

The Polish Republic, though full of vitality, was struggling for its very life against the terrible foe of Bolshevism. It should also be remembered that the ruling caste in Berlin before the fall of the German Empire were the Prussian Junkers, whose strongholds were to the east of the Elbe, and in East Prussia. To them the Poles were the traditional enemy of their race, whom for more than a century they had taught themselves to despise. No wonder that their resentment flamed up in a spasm of hate, which found its expression in the demand for the destruction of the so-called Polish Corridor. In the German Republic the Prussian Junkers have retained their influence in a large measure. Thus, not Alsace-Lorraine, which the Germans know they cannot have again, but the Corridor, which they still hope to recover with the help of Red Russia, became the emblem and the aim of the movement in Germany for revenge against the victors in the last war. But Poland survived the first years of its immense peril from Bolshevism. In 1920 with a supreme effort the Poles stemmed and then threw back far into the east the wave of the armed invasion, which the Soviet czar in Moscow, Lenin, had unleashed. The Poles saved themselves, and they saved the whole of Europe up to the Rhine, that is Germany, from being engulfed in destruction. The Germans should have been grateful, but their hatred of the Poles was too strong, and still they clamor for a revision of the status of the Corridor.

Unimpeachable and official German sources of the pre-war period, when nobody in Berlin yet could think that the resurrection of a free Poland would occur in this generation, prove beyond all possible doubt that the great majority of the population in the Corridor was not of German stock. Nowadays German propaganda makes play with the fact that the seaboard in that part of the world and a certain distance inland is inhabited by a population which describes itself by the name of Kashubs. But German sources cannot dispute the fact that these Kashubs are an autochthonous and pure Slav tribe, whilst an analysis of the Kashub dialect shows its proximity to the linguistic group of Slav dialects which form the foundation of the modern literary language of Poland. To cut argument short: a Pole and Kashub understand each other perfectly, whilst a German and a Kashub do not. Furthermore, official documents of the Prussian administration, published before the war, prove that Berlin itself could have no doubt, and in practice did not have any, about the close relationship which exists between Poles and Kashubs, as members of the same racial group. In regard to this, the authoritative writings of Professor Ludwig Bernhard of the Berlin University should be consulted. Before the war the population of the Corridor sent its representatives to the Reichstag in Berlin. These deputies invariably were Poles, and they sat in parliament as members of the national Polish group. After the war the preponderant Polish character of the population in the Corridor was intensified by the withdrawal of the German garrisons and officials, and by the return to Germany of a number of colonists who refused to accept Polish citizenship, so that today, perhaps, not more than 10 percent of the people are not of Polish stock.

In addition the Polish state has built on the seaboard a new port called Gdynia, as an auxiliary to the existing port of Germanized Danzig. After less than

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five years Gdynia has a population of nearly 60,000, and promises to become one of the most flourishing cities in the whole republic. Its existence puts the seal to the Polish character of the Pomorze.

German propaganda, recognizing that the ethnical argument can be of no greater assistance to it than the historical one, concentrates today on the economic argument. It is argued that the existence of the Polish Corridor has placed a stranglehold on the well-being of the German province of East Prussia, because the latter is cut off from the market for its agricultural products in the Reich. However, an official German document published after the war, namely the report of the representative of the directorate of the State Railways in East Prussia, establishes the fact that the existence of the Polish Corridor has ceased to prevent free communication between the two parts of Germany. For, it should be remembered, the Polish government has conceded to Germany by treaty conditions of transit for persons and goods, which eliminate the disadvantage of a passage across the territory of a foreign state. The official German document is positive on this point; it is available to all, and no better proof is needed.

When the Allied and Associated Powers imposed upon Germany the clauses of the peace treaty in 1918, they included the cession to Poland of the territory of the so-called Corridor, not only because it was historically and ethnically right to do so, but also because this was the best solution of the problem of communications in that part of the world. It was directly stated at the time that the Corridor was not an ideal solution, but that it was the best practical solution. The Pomorze is the only outlet of a rapidly growing free nation of 30,000,000 people to the highway of the open sea. Experience has shown the utility of this outlet already. Not only is the commerce of the Polish Republic rushing more and more, stronger and stronger, through that channel, but the Corridor has proved to be a safeguard against the imposition of any restriction by a foreign power upon Polish commerce with the world. For years now Germany, in an attempt to force Poland to accept her conditions, has waged a merciless tariff war against her neighbor in the east. Thanks to the existence of a Polish outlet to the Baltic Sea, these measures have only succeeded in directing Polish trade in an increasing measure to the sea-route. The current of Polish trade through the Corridor from and to the sea is infinitely larger than the trickling of provincial trade between East Prussia and the Reich.

Great Britain has a direct interest, like other maritime countries, in supporting the existence of the Polish Corridor against encroachments by Germany. A glance at the map of Europe shows that from the Dutch frontier on the North Sea to the Polish little passage on the Baltic, German sovereignty extends in an unbroken line, and that all the large ports like Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck and Stettin are German, with railways leading from them into the interior of the Continent. The Corridor is the only spot, and the nearest to British ports, where goods can enter without being subject to any tariff policy of the German government, calculated to establish privileges for its own trade in Europe. Through the Corridor the British trader reaches Poland and the countries beyond by a route independent of German control.

The existence of this competitive route is the best possible guarantee against a German policy to exclude British trade from free entrance to the Continent. Before the war, when this alternative did not exist, Germany controlled the whole seaboard of the Baltic, east to the Russian frontier. The result was that Russia on two occasions in the preceding century and once just before the war was blackmailed by Berlin into the necessity of concluding commercial treaties, which gave to the German ports a more favored position in the Russian sea-borne trade than that of the Russian ports themselves. The resentment caused in Russia by this state of affairs contributed in a large measure to the feeling which helped to bring about the last war.

I have not given figures in this article for the simple reason that the essential principles, and the testimony of the German sources themselves, suffice to convince the world that the Polish Corridor is a wise, fair and natural solution of a difficult problem. German propaganda has been successful in convincing many people in foreign parts that the German nation will never consent willingly to recognize the present frontiers. But the Polish nation certainly never will consent to surrender what it considers to be its sacred and ancient right to a direct access to the sea. No compromise on this point of principle is possible.

Let those who think in terms of peace therefore beware. For to encourage the idea of a revision of the provisions of the peace treaty in respect to the territorial frontier between Poland and Germany, means to work for war in its most direct and stark sense. Personally I believe that the propaganda in favor of such a revision, after several outbursts, inevitably must die down in the end, because the people of Germany one day will discover that though without the Corridor they still live. Events in Europe are shaping in a manner that shows that a number of preconceived notions, sown in the minds of people by a subtle propaganda after the war, must now be effaced by economic realities which leave no time for chauvinistic and other phantoms. Surely the best way of judging the situation in Europe is to imitate the dispassionate attitude of the Holy See, which thinks in centuries and does not allow itself to be impressed by the day-by-day flutters of politicians in pursuit of popularity.

I conclude: the question of the Polish Corridor does not exist in reality. Devised by the desire for revenge of a defeated ruling class, it is kept alive because it is a useful instrument of international propaganda. Although only ten years have gone by, time, the best judge of all such problems, has delivered its verdict already. It is in favor of the Poles.

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PAYING THE FIDDLER

By WILLIAM C. MURPHY, JR.

WHEN Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi entertained the Senate recently with a dissertation on a government pamphlet dealing with the love life of the American bullfrog, he used the searchlight of humor to illuminate what is probably the most serious governmental problem in the United States today.

That is, how far are the American taxpayers willing to finance the ever-expanding activities of federal bureaus at Washington? The more immediate phase of the problem, of course, is the finding of additional revenues with which to pay for what the bureaus have done in the past. The federal government went "in the red" more than $900,000,000 during the fiscal year ended last June, and the Treasury estimates the deficit for the present fiscal year will be considerably in excess of $2,000,000,000. Someone eventually will have to pay those bills and the American taxpayer is that unfortunate individual.

Rasping the pocketbook nerve, so-called, is probably the most efficient stimulus to serious thought ever devised by the brain of man. That is why the prospect of heavily increased taxation is causing many thousands of individuals to give some serious, albeit belated, consideration to the huge governmental machine which has grown up in Washington and which costs about $4,000,000,000 a year for upkeep. The question of federal bureaucracy is likely to figure prominently in political campaigns for several years to come, and sooner or later the country will be called upon to decide whether the present tendency toward centralization is to be allowed to go unchecked or whether an effort should be made toward a restoration of that balance between federal activity and local self-government which is supposed to be inherent in the American scheme of things governmental.

Disregarding the fundamentals of political science involved, it is largely a question of how much the taxpayer is willing to stand. The situation was stated succinctly in a recent article in the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, written by the *Enquirer's* Washington correspondent, Edwin W. Gableman, and dealing with the enormous expansion of the Department of Commerce during the past decade. "The taxpayer always pays the fiddler," Mr. Gableman wrote, "and in this case he pays a full symphony orchestra."

Now, doubtless there are individuals in the United States who are interested in the love life of the American bullfrog, and probably it may be assumed that the information contained in the pamphlet which excited Harrison's derision is entirely accurate. Also, if the taxpayer wants that kind of information and service from the federal government, there is probably no valid reason why it should not be furnished—so long as the taxpayer wants to pay for it.

Such things naturally cost money, for the pamphlet about the amorous frog is not an isolated and unusual thing. The federal government prints pamphlets and bulletins to the extent of some 100,000,000 copies annually. Possibly all are valuable and useful. Here are the titles of a few bearing the imprimatur of the Department of Agriculture: "Utilization of Calcium in Spinach"; "How to Dress for a Sun Bath"; "Reindeer Receipts"; "Principles of Window Curtaining."

There is also a twenty-one-page pamphlet issued by the Department of Labor on "Canal-boat Children" of whom, according to this publication, there are 353 in the entire United States.

Back in 1913 the total expenditure of all governmental agencies in the United States was estimated at about $3,000,000,000. Today the estimate is about $14,000,000,000. That represents an increase of more than 400 percent, which takes on added significance when contrasted with an increase in the national income from about $34,000,000,000 in 1913 to about $70,000,000,000 in 1930 or only about 100 percent.

Some idea of where all the money goes may be gleaned from a recent compilation made by Senator Metcalf of Rhode Island, showing that more than 8,431,000 persons are regularly receiving money from various governmental agencies. The total includes not only those employed as a part of the regular governmental machinery but also pensioners and employees on public construction projects. The senator estimated that not more than 46,000,000 persons are gainfully employed in normal times out of a total adult population of 70,000,000, which would make the ratio of those receiving government money about one to four for the entire employed group.

A few illustrations will serve to show the expansion of federal bureaucracy and the inevitable concurrent increase in expenditures. In 1910 the Department of Commerce and Labor spent $12,623,483. Later the department was split up into the present separate establishments. In 1931 the Department of Commerce alone spent $61,477,117 and the Department of Labor $12,181,885, a total for the two of more than $73,659,000. Personnel figures tell the same story. The Department of Commerce employed 8,788 persons in 1913 and 23,680 in 1931. The latter figure represented a decrease from 26,955 in 1930, when the total was abnormal because of the taking of the decennial census which was handled through this department.

Incidentally, this business of taking the census is a striking example of the functional expansion of the federal government which is the real underlying cause of the great bureaucracy of today. The census was devised originally and written into the constitution for the purpose of making apportionments of seats in

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the House of Representatives and to change such apportionments in harmony with population growth or shift. For all practical purposes the constitutional requirement is satisfied by a mere counting of noses, and that is about what the earlier censuses were. However, every time Congress was called upon to provide for the taking of a new census, someone thought of something else for the census takers to do. So today an official statement from the Bureau of the Census enumerates some of its functions—only about half of them—as follows:

> Takes the decennial census of the United States covering population, agriculture, irrigation, drainage, manufactures, mines and quarries, distribution and unemployment, and is continuously engaged in the compilation of other statistics covering a wide range of subjects. Statistics regarding the dependent, defective and delinquent classes in institutions, public debt, national wealth and taxation, religious bodies or churches, and transportation by water are compiled every tenth year in the period intervening between the decennial censuses; and statistics of electric light and power plants, electric railways, telephones and telegraphs every fifth year. A special census of agriculture is taken in the fifth year following the decennial census; and a census of manufactures is taken biennially.
>
> Statistics of births, deaths, marriages and divorces are compiled annually; also financial statistics of cities and states, and statistics of prisoners in state prisons and reformatories and of patients in hospitals for mental disease and in institutions for epileptics and feeble-minded.

It is no reflection upon the propriety or usefulness of any of the Census Bureau's functions enumerated to point out that the list shows an almost incredible expansion of the original concept of a national census. Naturally every increased activity is reflected in increased appropriations and increased taxes.

The Department of Agriculture presents another example of exceedingly variegated functions, and it absorbs between $75,000,000 and $100,000,000 annually for the primary purpose of increasing agricultural production, while at the same time the Federal Farm Board is gradually eating away the $500,000,000 revolving fund specially provided to handle the problem of agricultural surpluses. That is a working out of governmental efficiency which is beyond the comprehension of the average layman.

A glance at the Washington telephone directory is really all that is needed to demonstrate the extreme complexity of the federal establishment. The section headed "United States Government" takes up four full pages and here are a few of the names listed: Anacostia Golf Course, Columbia Institution for the Deaf, Fixed Nitrogen Research Laboratory, Haines Point Tea House, Howard University, National Screw Thread Commission, St. Elizabeth's Hospital.

The problem of keeping intact the northern and southern frontiers of the United States, despite their relatively immobile character, requires the services of four separate commissions in Washington. They are: the International Joint Commission; the International Boundary Commission, United States, Alaska and Canada; the International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico; and the International Water Commission, United States and Mexico.

Of course, this tremendous variation of federal activity involves huge expenditures and that is the phase which is attracting most of the interest currently manifested by those who have to pay the bill. But there is also another aspect, even more important. That is the gradual assumption of quasi- judicial and legislative functions by the numerous bureaus which have been spawned at the rate of more than one a year for the past twenty years.

No less an authority than Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes recently said:

> In the days of less complicated conditions, it was the accepted view that legislatures were equal to their task of law-making, and in their occasional sessions they could provide all the rules that were necessary. But despite the inordinate multiplication of laws, which has been especially characteristic of recent times, the legislatures have not been able to keep pace with social demands, and they have adopted the practice, after the formulation of some very general standards, of turning over the business of regulation to a great variety of administrative agencies. The making of regulations is, of course, essentially legislative in character, for they set forth what the citizen may and may not do. We are thus confronted with the distinctive development of our era, that the activities of the people are largely controlled by government bureaus in state and nation.

These words of the Chief Justice summarize the situation as it affects the administration of government.

Pilgrimage

Now are the bells unlimbered from their spires
In every steeple-loft from pole to pole.
The four winds wheel and blow in to this gate,
And every wind is wet with carillons.
The two Americas at eagle-height,
The pure, abstracted Himalayan chimes,
Great ghosts of clappers from the Russian fries
And sweet, wind-sextoned tremblers from Cathay;
The bells of Ireland, jesting all the way,
The English bells, slow-bosomed as a swan,
The queenly, weary din of Notre Dame,
And the Low Countries ringing back the sea;
Then Spain, the Moor still moaning through the saint,
The firry, frosty bells of Germany,
And on before them, baying, sweeping down,
The heavy, joyful pack of thunder-jowls
That tongue hosannas from the leash of Rome—
All float untethered over Jaffa Gate
To fling one peal when angels cheat the stone.
But if one little, gaping country bell,
Blown from its weather-boarding in the south,
Should be too lost to keep its covenant,
Or lift its heart and reins up to the hour,
Know that its dumbness riots more than sound.

EILEEN DUGGAN.

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LAY THOMISTS

By THOMAS M. SCHWERTNER

MANY Catholics, I daresay, would be willing to subscribe on first reading to the following statement of Arnold Lunn in "The Flight from Reason": "Members of his own [Saint Thomas's] order, the Dominicans, still devote seven years to his philosophy before they can take their D.D. But though I know a good many Catholics, I have yet to meet a Catholic layman who has devoted not seven years, but seven hours, to the 'Summa Theologica.' "

The number of lay Thomists in the English-speaking world may be comparatively small, but such is not the case in the Latin countries where the mentality of educated people is governed by a kind of native attraction to the orderly and clear methods of Aquinas, and where the preoccupation with speculative questions is more marked than in the Anglo-Saxon world, which is incurably pragmatic and utilitarian. Moreover, as a result of the English translation of the "Summa," the day seems to be breaking when laymen, even non-Catholics, will find it worth their while to search in the works of Saint Thomas for an answer to the question of the hour viewed in the light of the eternal truth of God.

Historically considered, the Saxon mind has had a hankering for the point of view of the Platonic philosophers. Augustinianism persisted longer in the English universities of the middle ages than anywhere else. There, too, its protagonists fought more bitterly for their own masters than on the Continent. When Saint Thomas astounded the world with his adaptation and harnassing of Aristotle to the service of Catholic philosophy and theology, England at once came out in the light in defense of the fundamental positions of Augustinianism. The English Dominicans refused to see eye single with the Aristotelianism of Saint Thomas. Richard Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been a Dominican professor of fair and long repute at Oxford, joined hands with the Archbishop of Paris, Stephen Tempier, and the University of Paris in condemning some of the propositions of Saint Thomas. Though the Paris condemnation was soon removed by the superior authority of Rome, the Anglo-Saxon philosophers never quite forgot their initial opposition to Aristotelianism nor ever abandoned themselves *intus et in pectore* to the new form of teaching philosophy and theology. And it is quite true to say that England never produced a first-class Thomist, except Thomas Sutton, O.P., not even in the Dominican order. The great English philosophers pass over Saint Thomas without so much as an intellectual qualm. All of them taken together do not deign to refer to, or attempt to refute, Saint Thomas more than a few dozen times. And as a consequence English thought and letters, even of an ecclesiastical kind, proffer little to the student of the Thomistic movement in the world. Cardinal Newman, the most typical English mind, rarely mentions Saint Thomas. For a time his method of explaining and defending Catholicism was suspected on this account, though Father Erich Przywara's "Newman Synthesis" (Longmans, Green and Company, 1931) shows that the great Oratorian was not incapable of grasping the eminence of the Angelic Doctor.

We need not be surprised that the repercussion of the "Aeterni Patris" of Leo XIII, by which Thomism was revived as the ideal form of Catholic teaching, was scarcely audible in the English-speaking world. I do not mean to say that the injunctions of the Holy Father regarding the teaching of Saint Thomas were not heard in the English-speaking countries. Like the loyal children of the Church these people did make a serious attempt to follow the explicit directions of the great Pontiff. But there is absent from the works written since 1883 in English that gladsome espousal of Thomism so noticeable in the Continental countries. One need only read an English treatise on philosophy or theology as compared with a like treatise produced in France, Italy, Spain or Germany to sense this intellectual aloofness, coldness, halfheartedness.

But a gradual change is being brought about largely through the translation of the "Summa" into English by the English Dominicans. It is worthy of note that the suggestion and impetus for this translation were due to a Catholic woman whose name I am not free to divulge. It was almost impossible to find a Catholic publisher willing to undertake the risk of putting the translation on the market. The Anglican clergy were much more enthusiastic over the project, just as they were more generous in its support, than the Catholic clergy. If there has been a marked improvement in the quality of Anglican theology, and if there have been many outstanding Anglican converts to Rome in the last two decades, it is largely due to the fact that, with the "Summa" made available to men at a loss to grasp the finer meanings of scholastic Latin, they could not only bolster up their own positions (by mainly utilizing the objections of Saint Thomas urged against each of his own theses) but also realize how scanty and tenuous were their arguments. The English translation of the "Summa" was one of the most far-reaching moves in the history of Catholic thought in the English-speaking world—a fact which we are just beginning to realize from the improvement in our own way of defending the truth with the arguments supplied by reason.

During the last half-century, the lay Thomists of Italy have done much to purge the Italian mind of the errors of men like Ardigo, Croce, Rosmini and Gentili —Thomists like Talamo, Conti, Battaglia, Sestili, not

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to speak of the new generation of lay professors at the University of the Sacred Heart in Milan, all of whom prove that the lay mind can profit in the school of the Angelical. Then there is the glorious achievement of the French lay Thomists like Maritain, Gilson, Forest, Jouvenet. And in an age when social questions must be viewed carefully if the lay workers of Catholic Action are to labor with real effect, it is encouraging to know that a layman, Anton Orel, in his "Oeconomia Perennis: Die Wirtsschaftslehre der Menschheitsüberlieferung," has not only vindicated the fine Thomism of the "Rerum Novarum," but castigated those, sometimes priests, who bitten by the modern economic philosophy have failed to grasp and thus defaced the genuine economic principles of the Angel of the Schools. And while speaking of Germany it may be well to recall the name of Doctor Rudolf Allers, whose "Psychology of Character" shows how much light the Angelical throws on questions considered mainly from a psycho-medical standpoint.

The works of Maritain and Gilson have been done into an English that does not read like a foreign language or an out-of-the-way dialect. The welcome these works received shows plainly that since the English translation of the "Summa" has found favor, a strong desire to become familiar with Thomistic thought has taken hold of the English-speaking world. The "Introduction to the Theological Summa of Saint Thomas" by Doctor Martin Grabmann of Munich has shown the people how to go about the study of Saint Thomas in a logical and sensible way. The same author's conspectus of Saint Thomas's thought read in conjunction with the fervent work along the same lines by Jacques Maritain will afford the student a comprehensive view of the great Doctor's ideology. The symposium of Father Zybura, "Present-day Thinkers and the New Scholasticism," will show the abysmal ignorance of many non-Catholic philosophers concerning Saint Thomas, as also their eagerness to know why he is looked upon as the *Doctor Communis* of the Church.

That a decided change of mind in favor of Saint Thomas has taken place in the lay world outside the Church should be an incentive to those who are by command of Canon Law of the Church obliged at least to teach the twenty-four fundamental theses of Saint Thomas selected as representative of his system by the Sacred Congregation of Studies in Rome, as also an encouragement to those Catholic laymen who somehow are victims of an inferiority complex when it comes to evaluating at their proper worth the great classics produced under the inspiration of the Church. There is no reason why Catholic laymen should be afraid, apologetic or ashamed of Saint Thomas when an eminent man like Professor Robert Bullough of Edinburg University goes out of his way to praise the Angelical and assign him a conspicuous place among intellectual leaders who can bring us out of the mental morass into which a godless philosophy and mechanistic science have lured us.

Professor A. E. Taylor in his Gifford Lectures of 1930, "The Faith of a Moralist," while missing many of the implications of Saint Thomas's teaching and thus falling into egregious errors concerning the relation of human life to the eternal element which is found in God alone, summarizes "the great classic work of the golden age of Scholasticism on our subject, the 'Summa contra gentiles' of Saint Thomas." Again he says: "The issue is stated with the utmost clarity by the proposition of Saint Thomas that the final felicity of man is not to be obtained in the present life."

In "The Fairy Ring of Commerce," Herbert Shove brings out the fundamental point that the Church seeks to create an atmosphere best suited to her teachings and commands. This is to be found in that definite type of social organization in which ownership is widely diffused. This brings up the questions of husbandry and industrialism with all they imply. This interesting thesis is developed along the lines laid down by Saint Thomas and applied in our day by Leo XIII and Pius XI. This concise work should be read in connection with the "Oeconomia Perennis" of Orel which deserves to be translated at once as an antidote to the false or dubious economic teaching which has not failed to infect some Catholic writers who seem to be unable to grasp the genuine mind of Aquinas.

In his hilarious and exciting criticism of popular science Arnold Lunn writes thus: "Professor Julian Huxley with all that fine hearty confidence of the man whose creed is based not on reason but on faith, expects us to accept, not only his negations, but his beliefs on trust. 'What then do I believe?' he writes. 'I believe, in the first instance, that it is necessary to believe something. Complete scepticism does not work.' Perhaps not, but the Christian would not expect Julian Huxley to accept theism merely because 'complete atheism does not work.' For the Christian realizes that a creed must be supported by reason, no less than by expediency. . . . Aquinas, a rationalist, living in an age of reason, did not begin by assuming, but by proving the articles of his creed." Mr. Lunn believes in a return of modern thought to Thomas Aquinas: "The contrast between Thomas Aquinas and between Julian Huxley is the contrast between a man who has thought out a consistent philosophy in which creed and code are related, and a man whose life is sustained by a naive faith wholly inconsistent with the philosophic creed he professes."

Testimonies like these from non-Catholic thinkers might be adduced at great length. The Catholic layman, if he does not feel himself called to the study of Saint Thomas, should feel himself shamed into doing it by non-Catholics who have gone over the world to find the waters of truth only to discover that they had gone to empty cisterns. Until a better, safer teacher appears we can ill afford to remain away from Aquinas.

Perhaps some day we shall have in America, as in England, an Aquinas Society where lay men and women can hear from competent lips the wisdom of Saint

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Thomas. Perhaps in our secular universities, so largely frequented by Catholics, we shall have an Extension Course, like that at London University on the text of Saint Thomas, where five lectures each week are given, with credits, by Dominican interpreters. Perhaps, too, the day is not far distant when our secular universities, following the lead of the University of Amsterdam, will set up a chair for the study of the "Summa" in the firm conviction that in the study of the history of human thought the greatest mediaeval mind may not be overlooked without risk of making the course of philosophy truncated and fragmentary.

And, perhaps, one day we shall find our lawyers and Judges of the Supreme Court doing what Law Justice Slesser did on December 2, 1930, when, in the Court of Appeals, he invoked the authority of Saint Thomas in support of the natural right of Jewish parents to determine the religion of their children. And in this Judge Slesser simply did what Sir John Fortescue accomplished in the fifteenth century when he read Saint Thomas into the English constitution—a cue followed by the Whigs of a later day when they sought to defend it against Tory and Dissenter. Aquinas, slighted these seven hundred years by English philosophers and theologians, has won the admiration of that contingent of English thinkers whose professional forebears wrought the most perfect juristic document since the Roman Law. And may we not entertain the dream that just as soon as our Catholic thinkers recognize the imperious claims of Aquinas on all those who wish to think profoundly and straight, we may see in our non-Catholic world what has become an established institution in Geneva, Switzerland, namely, a society of fourteen non-Catholic men who meet weekly to discuss and study the "Summa" of Saint Thomas, inviting for this purpose a child of that order to which Saint Thomas belonged and in which his academic spirit and ethos have remained traditional and unaffected in its essentials?

Wild Rose

Whisper, wild rose, your secret, whence so fair
You shine upon your thorn to the blue air.

"From my dark root, that plies its earthy duty,
Wells up my substance blushing into beauty."

Whence that red stain upon your cheek of snow?
Is it the blood from hearts that sleep below?

"Nay, when the Prince of Peace was judged and priced,
I was the Thorn upon those brows of Christ.

"The Sacred Blood came pricking on my stem
When my fang bit that Flesh of Bethlehem.

"Rust for a curse upon the bitter nail,
Blood on my cheek, for a brand that shall not fail."

DUDLEY G. DAVIES.

LA CUPOLA

By MARIE ZOÉ MERCIER

BENEATH the high, brooding vaults of the Vatican basilica the heart of Rome beats securely now to the rhythm of eternity. For seven hundred years it awaited the fulfilment of its destiny, and then one day a fisherman from the Galilean country out across the empire, infused into its arteries the life blood of Divinity.

Beneath the massive, twisted columns of the Bernini baldachino, beneath the marble incrustations and gold and silver ornament of sumptuous elaborations, sunk in the venerated crypt of an earlier basilica, the sealed tomb of Saint Peter lies hidden. Immediately before the crypt, the pavement drops to a level lower by several steps, and upon the balustrade that circles round, eighty-seven vigil lamps burn ceaselessly. The four bronze columns of the baldachino writhe upward through drifting sunlight to the intricately wrought canopy which they support.

Over them and far, far above them, space wavers like golden mist, up into the incredible heights of the dome. A mosaic inscription binds the vast circumference at the base: "Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum." Each letter measures about six feet, but from the foot of the baldachino none of them seem more than a few inches high. The medallions of the four evangelists over them seem like discs of moderate size, yet the pen in the hand of Saint Luke is over eight feet long. Above the medallions the painting becomes indistinct; there is only gold and blue and faint shadow, but the soaring lines are as eloquent as the ogival sweep of Gothic arches. Something in their horizontal meeting gives a breathless feeling of suspense, as if a sudden, imminent burst of glory hovered beyond the curving shell.

The great dome above the sarcophagus of Saint Peter is visible from every vantage point in the city. No panorama is complete without its outline. Other rounded domes rise above the flat roofs and, until one is entirely familiar with them, it may be possible to mistake any one of them at first, for that of Michelangelo. But what other outline, even nearer to the eye, hints at the same incredible boldness of proportion? What other outline curves with the same sweeping dignity, yet wavers horizontally with something of the transparent grace of a bubble poised in mid-air?

When one has climbed the narrow street that winds up the Aventine hill and has reached the widened space that sprawls, dusty and somnolent, to the columns of the portico before Santa Sabina, and has perhaps penetrated into the dim old vestibule and peered out from dusty panes upon the orange tree of Saint Benedict; when one has disturbed the faded caretaker of San Alessio to let one through the paved atrium into the weathered cloister and the bright little basilica of Renaissance restoration, it is not at all difficult to forget about the rest of Rome. For the sunny Aventine is lined with walls, garden walls and cloister walls, that shut out the city beyond them. On three sides of the little piazza before the ancient villa of the Knights of Malta, their stern coats of arms top the wall at intervals, but the wall against the villa garden rises even higher than these. High and blank and dull, it is mutely forbidding and the green door in its center only emphasizes an unassailable seclusion. And yet one has only to bend down to the keyhole. Down the vista of a bowered path the dome of St. Peter's hangs like an iridescent pencil sketch upon pale parchment, a swift and intimate revelation of the hidden heart.

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Wherever one may go about the city, the presence of the dome hovers like an unseen guardian, and when one reaches the open squares upon the hilltops, it is always there waiting. From the Quirinal it rests quietly within the hollow opened up above the Quirinal hill stairs; from the Pincio it soars with slow dignity above a horizon of surrounding roof lines; from the bridge of Castel Sant' Angelo it looms like the bulk of a great rock above the sluggish ripples of the yellow Tiber. Even from a distance it is the center of all radii. Out on the Appian Way, over the catacombs of San Callisto, the cypress trees along the path to the Trappist monastery narrow toward a blue point on the horizon. Up on the mountains, from the terraces of Frascati, a barely perceptible dot rises clear of pearly distance. And still it is possible to get informal and intimate views of the great dome if one catches it unawares from the Vatican gardens which lie behind it. I have seen it rise serene and majestic beyond a tangle of beanpoles.

Of all my memories of St. Peter's dome there is one that is unforgettable. It was Sunday evening, June 2, the beatification day of Dom Bosco, and the city was slowly dimming into shadow. At the end of the narrow streets that lead to the basilica the dome always waits above the roof tops, a strange, ethereal silver in the morning mist, a sharp, metallic reality against the limpid luminosity of noon. But on that night it was the vast, shadowy socket for myriads of dull red torches. It hung as if suspended in the air, motionless, glamorous, unreal above the cobblestones, with the sky behind it, fervid Marian blue for all its twilight mystery, giving it a suggestion of restrained intensity. The crowds circulated thickly from one open space to another, emptying out of the Piazza Rusticucci into the Piazza San Pietro only to eddy in silent wonder within the glowing arms and swell back into the narrower approach to watch from a distance and wait for nine o'clock. At nine, suddenly, there was a slight heave in the mass and white faces were lifted to the cross high upon the dome. A bright torch waved back and forth above it and then lowered and touched its five points. At once torches leaped into flame all over the edifice and began running over the humped back of the dome, down the pilasters of the façade and out along the wide circle of the colonnade, until within ten minutes the steady red glow had changed to pulsing gold and the sky had darkened to black.

From where I stood I could just see the dark corner of the Vatican where are the windows of the Holy Father's study. I heard a child near by ask in a strident whisper if the Santo Padre were looking out too. Perhaps he was, just these few minutes, standing with his hand upon his heart as we had often seen him, his deep gaze bent down upon the silent people at his feet, and, it may be, lifted an instant to the pines of the Gianicolo and the distant mountains, before he returned to his desk.

Out upon the mountains of Tivoli and Frascati eyes must have been turned to the dome, glowing like one intense jewel fixed in the plain. It was the magnet of eyes all over the city. Up on the Aventine, through the keyhole of the Knights of Malta, it twinkled like a fairy castle down the vista of childhood. From the Quirinal palace door it rested like a forgotten ball within the hollow above the Quirinal hill stairs. Out on the Appian Way it burned like a star at the end of the cypress-bordered path to the Trappist monastery. From the Belvederi of the Palatine it throbbed like an epic of reality above the low, beating echo of imperial fame. But there, from the hushed piazza, it stood against the black night sky like a great monstrance, burdened with the corporeal fragments of the first of the Peters to whom Christ has said, "He that heareth you, heareth Me."

COMMUNICATIONS

RICH MEN'S POVERTY

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editor: In the February 3 issue of THE COMMONWEAL there is an editorial entitled "Rich Men's Poverty," in which the following statement is made: "Orgies of speculation are sometimes unavoidable, but it has been left to American financiers to evolve a philosophy advocating orgies of speculation. *Not one single first-class man has, even yet, questioned the social value of the stock exchange.* Such very dubious practices as short selling are still ardently defended by firms supposedly anxious to serve the public."

I have italicized one sentence which you, or whoever wrote the editorial, surely must have set down thoughtlessly or in haste. Otherwise, I cannot explain how you overlooked or forgot the now famous address delivered May 5, 1931, by Melvin A. Traylor, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, before the International Chamber of Commerce at Washington, D. C., in which he voiced his criticisms of the stock exchange in social as well as economic terms. This was the speech in which he made the now-famous statement: "I would urge consideration of the complete abolishment of so-called floor trading, which, as I am informed, has about it most of the characteristics of plain crap-shooting, and few, if any, more redeeming features than that delightful Ethiopian pastime."

Surely, you must recall the storm of criticism from one direction which descended upon Mr. Traylor from those he admonished, and the tremendous cheers of approval from the opposite direction given his speech by the thoughtful and liberal. I would like especially to direct your attention to the smashing sentences which conclude this section of his speech: "My thought is that this country cannot afford again the wreck and ruin of people of small means, which followed the last crash. It is bad enough when the well-informed and wealthy speculate and lose, but when scrubwomen, day laborers, small home owners, wives and youths speculate and lose simply because they can go to a broker's office and get credit for small sums, the practice ceases to be defensible on any ground. If it be objected that the adoption of these suggestions would greatly curtail the volume of trading, and affect vested interests of those owning stock exchange memberships, let me say that the welfare of 120,000,000 people should not be sacrificed to the vested interests of any group, however large or small."

There is great temptation to quote from page after page of this remarkable address, of which the stock exchange section is only a part. If you read the address and study the sections to which I refer, I am sure you will be willing to admit publicly that THE COMMONWEAL was in error when it said, "Not one single first-class man has, even yet, questioned the social value of the stock exchange." For certainly, I think, you will admit that Melvin A. Traylor qualifies as "a first-class man."

Let me direct your attention, finally, to the program Mr. Traylor offers at the conclusion of his address:

"It is an encouraging sign, in the field of industry in particular, that management is more and more adding social welfare to its management problems. A final and proper adjustment of economic and social conditions cannot be attained without the closest coöperation between all factors, including the government. I believe, however, that economic stability and order can be achieved, and to that end I urge leadership in every field to dedicate its untiring, unprejudiced and unselfish effort. The imperative need of the world is a sense of security, founded

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upon economic stability. For the worker, economic stability means security against unemployment, loss of income, and fear of the future. For capital, it means security of investment, the certainty of reasonable return, and courage for new venture. For government, it means security against revolution, disorder and defeat. For the world, it holds the only hope of enduring peace, the avoidance of war, and the preservation of civilization.

"These are the problems; these are the issues which confront world leadership. They constitute the most vital equation in economic crises and in social welfare. The need is for leadership, sympathetic in its understanding, tolerant in its viewpoint, and dynamic in its courage. This is the challenge. Let us answer with vision, faith and hard work."

It seems to me that the authorship and sponsorship of such an address requires qualities one should look for in a President of the United States. It may very well be that the Democratic party, in seeking its leader in June of this year, could do the United States and itself a service by nominating Melvin A. Traylor.

THOMAS QUINN BEESLEY.

A COLLEGE FRESHMAN SPEAKS

Deep Springs, Calif.

TO the Editor: America is fundamentally sound—sound asleep. Its youth is sick—sick and tired of the way affairs have been going. All through preparatory school and now again in college, youth has been fed the eternal line that everything is up to them and "the fate of mankind is in your hands."

This granted (and many elders would be surprised to learn what a large percentage of students take it to heart), we find that now there are some beginning to look around, unable to understand just why men already "out in the world" and on top are not doing something themselves instead of howling about youth and the future. What the world needs, it needs now, and if people go on waiting for the rising generation to grow up, it will have a bigger job than it can handle, and, in turn, hand out the same slush to succeeding generations.

Do not misunderstand. Such talk becomes "slush" only when it is merely talk, and not backed by action. Of what good are the programs we hear about? Perhaps you can remember how what was billed as a "feeroshuss, man-eating tiger" on the program of a child's circus turned out to be Willie's pet cat—thoroughly housebroken. In like manner we find measures for relief of various kinds, if not already messes, broken in one of the Houses at Washington.

We who will soon be given the right to vote can hardly look to present full-fledged citizens for guidance. With the state and city of New York in the constant throes of investigations disclosing pollution, corruption and dissolution—enormities which make the flatulent affairs of ancient Rome appear lamblike—the voters meekly cast their votes in vindication of the party in power, giving it the most overwhelming plurality in the history of the state. As if to say, "Of course we've been told for years what bad little boys you've been, and the evidence certainly looks as though you may have stepped out a little, but then we know that way down deep you're good fellows, and anyway the papers were probably lying!" Yes, good fellows so down deep as to be covered with slime, and the papers no doubt are repressing untold quantities of committee dynamite. Are we supposed to follow suit some fine November morn, after reaching twenty-one years?

Prominent national figures are continually appearing in public and broadcasting that they "urge" this or that step to be taken. Why don't they ever feel the urge to take a step forward themselves, instead of standing pat, both feet firmly implanted in muck?

And there can be no quick, complete change, with the younger generation suddenly plunging into affairs that men have ceased to act upon and bringing about world salvation, which is apparently what is expected. Were this true, youth would not be needed at all, for the change could be executed before we grow up.

Must we call upon men with one foot in the grave, who have come to the aid of the world in times past, to haul that foot out and help once more? Even if forced to that, it would appear that the old-timers are getting both feet in more rapidly than they could ever get the one foot out, and besides it must be remembered that many of the really old men of today have helped to a large extent to put us where we are.

Youth needs inspiration: must it look to Civil War days for it? Why can't we find it in men of today? Do those with all the "yellowbacks" also possess discolored bellies? Many Americans pretend to extreme open-mindedness in spite of their parents' influence, and thus figure that their children will be so, and will not necessarily follow the poor example that is being set. If, however, a Chinaman wanted to marry Babbitt's daughter, he would raise all kinds of Cain, notwithstanding boasted freedom from prejudice. There are just as many slackers who are growing up with youth as there are already grown up, and unless the older people do something more than keep a chair warm, they can hardly expect their children to do more.

We often hear, "How fortunate you are to be alive in this day and time, to realize what hardships are, and to learn how to pull out should this happen again!" Our elders too are alive in this day and time, are they not? On second thought, are they? Apparently they are not alive to the situation as it really exists.

These things are all true in America at least, and if they are so in other nations it may be hoped that there too youth will start doing its part now by prodding its fathers into action.

This requires no apology. . . . Those few to whom my accusations do not apply will recognize both that and the general truth of what I have said.

CHARLES J. BRUNEEL.

RELIGION IN THE CURRICULUM

Saint Paul, Minn.

TO the Editor: I am glad that so eminent a figure as the Reverend Gregory R. Rybrook, O. Praem., has launched necessary criticism against our educational curricula, in so far as these minimize or even exclude the inculcation of religious principles. The Narcissus-like attitude of our Catholic educational system is most disheartening. Its complacency is unhealthy. Dr. Rybrook quotes Leo XIII to support his statement that every subject should be permeated with solid Christian piety. "If this is wanting, if this sacred atmosphere does not pervade and warm the hearts of teachers and scholars alike, little good can be expected from any kind of learning, and considerable harm will often be the consequence." Dr. Rybrook gives actual proof that harm does result from such neglect, a fact pitiably true and very real.

Very few of our nurses, even though they have been trained in Catholic hospitals, know the truths of their religion well

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enough to explain them to interested patients. Nor are they familiar with Catholic ethics in hospital practice. Certainly this is something which ought to be remedied in these days when "ethical" ethics (Catholic ethics) are needed to preserve the lives of the unborn. Whom shall we blame for this? The nurse, because she did not properly equip herself with the necessary religious knowledge, at least after she was freed from training school supervision? Yes. The supervisors too are to blame, because they have it in their power to modify the curriculum. It is ostensibly true that the spirit of Catholicism must permeate medical studies in these days of moral decay and physical degeneracy. It must reach into every class and create the proper orientation for every subject.

The same criticism applies to our schools of law, journalism and the sciences. Instead of cluttering up the faculties of such institutions with rank unbelievers or nominal Catholics, we should assure ourselves that these *doctores* have the right religious training and appreciation of the values of faith which their responsibility demands! An intelligent training which lends itself to intelligible dissemination is what these teachers need. Dr. Rybrook's examples of Catholic young men who become lax and indifferent successively are typical enough, though I would go a step further and include the young women. Similar curricular misfortunes beset our colleges which train women for the higher things in life. Even in these schools the besetting sin of worldliness is prevalent, ill befitting the standards which they advertise.

Dr. Rybrook offers a solution which has been used to great advantage in the Catholic schools of Holland. It might well be utilized in this country. In a recent work dealing with the teaching of religion, the writer warns us of the danger of thinking that a half-hour's religious instruction daily will differentiate our Catholic schools from non-religious institutions. Colleges which offer merely a course in religion ought to be sternly corrected. It is the courses in education which should be energized and guided by religion.

Superficial culture and hedonistic outlooks on life are covered with a veneer of religion in our Catholic colleges for women. Catering to the secular universities is rapidly characterizing our Catholic institutions! Bowing to secular university standards is no new happening! Away with that course in religion and let religion impregnate the courses in education! If this is not done, Catholic education is Catholic "only by extrinsic denomination."

Well may we recall the principle of correlation laid down by Newman: "All knowledge forms one whole, because its subject-matter is one; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately knit together that we cannot separate portion from portion, and operation from operation, except by a mental abstraction; and then again as to its Creator, though He of course in His Being is infinitely separate from it, and theology has its departments toward which human knowledge has no relations, yet He has so implicated Himself with it, and taken it into His very bosom, by His presence in it, His providence over it, His impressions upon it, and His influences through it, that we cannot fully or truly contemplate it without in some main aspects contemplating Him."

It is high time that our professedly Catholic institutions of higher learning conform to the religious precepts not merely suggested but demanded by the Holy Father. Not until the dynamic spirit of Catholicism penetrates the very vitals of our curricular and extra-curricular activities can we say that our educational system is truly Catholic.

FRANCIS GRILL.

THE ALL-NIGHT VIGIL

Wilson, Pa.

TO the Editor: An annual devotion long practised by pious Catholics throughout the world has of recent years been sadly neglected. I mean the highly laudable all-night vigil of adoration before the Blessed Sacrament, beginning on Holy Thursday evening and closing on Good Friday morning.

Common surrender to the pagan assurance, ceaselessly dinned, that material prosperity is the sufficient end of all human endeavor, has, I think, been the chief reason for the desuetude suffered by this and other commendable devotions. But now we are painfully proving the bitter illusion inherent in absorbed pursuit of material well-being; and so it would seem that the time is at hand when a return to appreciation of the lasting worth of spiritual values is in order.

For this reason it is edifying to know that the all-night vigil is planned for observance by the men of the Pittsburgh diocese this year. Here the Diocesan Union Holy Name Society, under the spiritual direction of the Reverend James M. Delaney, aims to have its members conduct the vigil in every parish of the diocese. Groups of Holy Name men, presenting themselves in relays, will insure that the Blessed Sacrament is not left solitary during the watches of the night.

To the Catholic it should be obvious that devotions like this are inestimably more efficacious to secure help in our need from the Infinite Source of all good than are all the current expedients and schemes which rely ultimately for their worth on the selfish man's concern for his fellows in distress—a quality marked only for its rarity in our modern materialistic society.

J. B. KELLER.

OUR PROHIBITION PLANK

Louisville, Ky.

TO the Editor: I was very much interested in your "Prohibition Plank," which appeared in a recent issue to wit: "First, repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment; second, the freedom to use wine and spirits and beer by those who can make felicitous temperate use of them; third, the freedom to embrace total abstinence both by those who through past abuse or physical disabilities or a weakness for excessive tippling do themselves and others injury by drinking, and also by those who wish to undertake it as a matter of practical asceticism."

Might I say that any total abstinence movement based on your recommendation could be very truthfully termed a "Society of Old Soaks," which, by the way, had a great deal to do with the downfall of the total abstinence movement in our Church. In the eighties and nineties, young men like myself going to Catholic schools and Catholic churches, were never asked, much less urged, to join these societies for old men who were not able to "drink temperately" as you stipulate in the second plank of your platform. It might be well to reverse the order of your planks and consider repeal after something has been developed about total abstinence, and also a "selective system" to determine who could "drink temperately."

No one is more anxious than Catholic prohibitionists to see our Church take some action toward the evils of liquor.

P. H. CALLAHAN, *Secretary,*
Association of Catholics Favoring Prohibition.

Editor's Note: Mr. Callahan seems to have missed in the emphatic position provision for freedom to embrace total abstinence as practical asceticism without compulsion by police or federal agents.

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STAGE AND SCREEN

By RICHARD DANA SKINNER

Emil Jannings in "Tempest"

TO ALL who are interested in comparisons between the motion picture products of Hollywood and those of the Continental centers, the Little Carnegie Playhouse is one of the interesting spots of New York. By the use of frequent—though not too frequent—screen translations of the spoken dialogue, the barrier of language is broken. These translations are not run as separate captions, breaking the visual continuity, but are sur-printed on the bottom of the film. It is a neat expedient, and goes far to give those who have no knowledge, or only a smattering knowledge, of foreign languages a ready key to the action and even to the colloquial humor.

Over recent weeks (and apparently this will hold for many weeks to come) the Little Carnegie's offerings have been almost exclusively German films. The current showing is an Emil Jannings vehicle, produced by UFA, whose original title "Storms of Passion" has been modified into "Tempest" for American consumption. This necessary change of title is somewhat indicative of the story's essential weakness. It is as trite in plot and circumstance as the original German title. It has a naive quality which we associate with films of a much earlier date in American production annals, a superficial use of familiar situations and of foregone conclusions, and a lack of character substance. Many of its adventure episodes stretch credulity to a snapping point. Yet it has moments, both in acting and production, of surpassing interest. It is a curious combination of skilled technique with puerile stupidity.

The story is that of a genial and physically powerful crook, Gustav Bumke, who is let out of one of his periodic prison terms unexpectedly for "model behavior," returns to his girl only to discover, after a time, that she has acquired another entanglement, kills the offending interloper, is sent to prison again, escapes, finds his incurable Annya in still another man's arms, and finally goes back to prison with the bitter discovery that it is far more peaceful than the turbulent world outside. It is just another of those sordid stories that reveal very little beyond obvious points of character. Bumke is a "noble" character, after a moronic fashion, Annya slips from man to man with ridiculous suddenness and ease, and the other characters merely fill in the plot.

The handling of this mediocre material is quite another matter. The Germans have a particular talent for making mass action credible. Several of the scenes in this picture, for example, take place during one of those German summer festivals which somehow create sheer magic out of beer, pickles and cheese. The pictures of the festival catch most of this curious glamor. The people are just plain populace, but you feel the crescendo of their mood as they pass from dance to song, and from song to the gorgeous brilliance of firework display. No camera has a more swiftly roving nor more sharply revealing eye than a German camera in scenes such as these.

A similar thought applies to German acting technique. Jannings himself has certain recognizable mannerisms—or, should we say, theatrical tricks? He still uses the eloquence of his broad back. He still walks, when in a rage, with the slow tread of an impending doom. But these are all legitimate tricks, used in the interests of artistic economy. He can express, as few other actors, the finest gradations of feeling with the least waste effort. Nothing is more effective than his restraint. The same thing applies to Otto Wernicke as a police detective. Anna Sten, as Bumke's girl, Annya, is inclined to overact after the accepted fashion for screen ladies of light affection. She has fine moments without giving a fine performance —which means that she is neither a Marlene Dietrich nor a Greta Garbo. (At the Little Carnegie Playhouse.)

The Scenic Art of Jo Mielziner

AT THE International Gallery, at 9 East 57th Street there is a current exhibition of stage sets and drawings by Jo Mielziner. His name, in a certain sense, is not on the lips of every playgoer. One does not think, for example, of a "Mielziner production" as one thinks of a Norman Bel Geddes production. But this very fact, if we interpret it correctly, is a powerful negative tribute to Mr. Mielziner's careful subordination of his art to the pattern and the needs of each play on which he works. It is only the positive genius of the Geddes type who can dare to risk competition between scenic design and the play—and even Geddes has occasionally gone too far in scenic dominance. Jo Mielziner, for all the innate modesty of his art, has designed the sets for some fifty-six dramatic works since 1924—an average of seven productions a year. Whether the average playgoer realizes it or not, and whether or not he takes the trouble to read the designer's name on the program, he has absorbed a great deal of Mr. Mielziner's dramatic art. A mere random list would include such plays as "The Guardsman," "Lucky Sam McCarver," "The Wild Duck," "Strange Interlude," "Street Scene," "Uncle Vanya," "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" and the musical satire, "Of Thee I Sing." It would also include settings of such extraordinary atmospheric suggestion as those for Dan Totheroh's "Distant Drums" and for "Anatole." The first, second and third Little Show also received the benefit of Mr. Mielziner's touch. It makes an impressive record of versatile subordination, in which, however, the demands of the play have always been met in abounding measure.

The present exhibition includes chiefly the artist's original sketches for various plays of the last eight years, but it also contains a few subject drawings and two stage models, one of the opening set for "Distant Drums," the other of that terrace overlooking the night lights of Vienna which made "Anatole" a memorable stage picture. For sheer imaginative power, I would recommend to any theatre lover the designs for "The Red General," a play still in the producer's workshops. It shows how easily Mr. Mielziner can ascend from the demands of pure realism to the requirements of thoroughly creative design. But even realistic settings call for more creative effort than the average audience realizes. It was no accident of photographic reproduction which made the dilapidated brownstone house an integral part of "Street Scene"—which made it, in fact, a character in the play. It was, rather, the result of an eye that understood perspective and proportion and the relative power of detail in producing the impact of a mood. The Wimpole Street house of the Barretts was no less of an achievement. It vibrated with the whole inner conflict of that strange family. There are many designers more spectacular than Mielziner, but there are few who can understand an author's intentions so clearly, and fewer still who can give them such eloquent, sympathetic and unobtrusive expression. A visit

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to the International Gallery will well repay those whose enjoyment of the theatre has been somewhat limited by their lack of intimacy with the scope and purpose of the designer's art.

The Dream of Gerontius

THE CONCERT of the Oratorio Society in Carnegie Hall at which the *pièce de résistance* was Sir Edward Elgar's "Dream of Gerontius" must have caused more than one Catholic in the audience to regret the absence of any regular endowed musical organization in New York devoted to the giving of the great masterpieces of Catholic composers. This regret was not caused by the inadequacy of the performance, for Mr. Stoessel has rarely showed himself to greater advantage as a conductor, and both the chorus and the soloists, and especially Dan Gridley as Gerontius, sang very beautifully indeed; it was caused simply by the realization that usually we have to depend upon strictly non-sectarian bodies to offer us these great works in a manner worthy of their content. Of course Elgar, and César Franck, and Bruckner have their quota of performances by these musical bodies, but there are so many other Catholic works of genius that the aggregate of the performances of Catholic works is small indeed. We have of course Mother Stevens's magnificently trained singers and Father Finn's admirable choir, but these organizations are of necessity limited to certain types of works. What Catholics need is an organization like the Schola Cantorum, adequately endowed, and under the direction of a conductor of the first order. But meanwhile let us be thankful that there are musicians like Mr. Stoessel, and singers like those who compose his chorus who occasionally give us classic works by Catholics.

"The Dream of Gerontius" is in many respects Sir Edward Elgar's masterpiece, and the reason for this is obvious: it is the evocation of what is deepest in the soul of a devout Catholic, an evocation none the less spontaneous and original in being inspired by the poem of another Catholic who happened also to be one of the supreme masters of the English tongue. And perhaps the highest praise which can be given to the music is to say that it is worthy of Cardinal Newman's poem. It is a musical transcription of the thought and emotion which inform Newman's work, a work which deals with the significance of death and the life beyond. This is of course an enormous order for a musician, and yet Elgar in his reverence of spirit, his mystical emotion, and his fervent sincerity has magnificently succeeded in putting into musical terms the inner spirit of the poem. Its mastery of form, the resource of its writing are as complete today as they appeared a quarter of a century ago, and if there are those who find the whole effect a little less overwhelming, it is only because the materialistic virus of the time has not yet passed from their systems. When the orgy of color for its own sake, and rhythm for the sake of something it is more charitable not to name, has passed, Sir Edward's cantata will take its place among the masterpieces of musical literature. And there are signs that already this time is close at hand. Indeed the opening part of the program, Gustav Holst's two Psalms for chorus, strings and organ, showed the way the wind is blowing. Mr. Holst is one of the ablest of that group of young English composers who are rapidly making English music a force to be reckoned with. And it is significant that he is worshiping no strange gods. His two Psalms are reverent and spiritual in their musical investiture. They may not be works of supreme genius, but they are far more than merely pleasing. They proved an admirable introduction to Elgar's greater work.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

BOOKS

St. Patrick's Country

And So Began the Irish Nation, by Seamus MacCall. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. $5.00.

SPECIAL circumstances, too well known to need recounting, breed in all racially conscious Gaels a just pride in the history of the Irish nation. In that history there is so much of excitement, sadness and glory, that quite excusably Irish scholarship has been slow to reconstruct, in the light of modern scientific knowledge, the pre-history of the sea-girt isle. Irishmen, it might be said, have up to now pretty generally overlooked the fact that their ancestral hills and vales have an ethnological and an archaeological story to tell as well as a history. This condition is by way of being changed by the labors of Eoin MacNeill, R. A. S. Macalister, George Coffey and the author of this book.

It can confidently be recommended to Irishmen familiar with every fact and facet of their national history, to embark upon the new adventure of examining their pre-history in the pages of this book; recounted there are fascinating stories of the unknown races that built the dolmens and Caiseal Aongusa, and the unknown benefactors who first fashioned bronze axes and learned to weave cloth and plait baskets, and the unknown artists who so developed a style of ornament and so mastered bronze and gold that the lunulae and armlets and brooches they fabricated thousands of years ago still move our admiration and arouse our wonder.

The story Mr. MacCall tells, of course, covers a period many times as long as the more than twenty centuries of authentic Irish history. He has found it necessary, also, to range far abroad to establish his ethnological and archaeological foundations. His scholarship is comprehensive and obviously sound. But because of its great range, and because of some lack of proportion, his book is in places a trifle chaotic and less than crystal clear; and myriad as are the matters he touches on, some things one would expect to find in these pages are lacking. But four thousand years and more cannot easily be packed even into 453 pages, and after all it is unreasonable to expect the immense treasures of such scholarly research to be tied up into neat packages and expounded with the clarity of a leisurely essay. Students will find this book indispensable, and general readers will find it as fascinating as any book of adventure.

The remains of man have been found in Ireland in the late Palaeolithic stratum. But continuous occupation seems to have begun in the Neolithic Age. The earliest inhabitants were of Magdalenian race. The Fir Bolgs were very early invaders whose settlements were confined to the north. Fomorian plainly means Men of the Sea, and all the invaders of Ireland were that. The Nividians Mr. MacCall analyzes into sheer myth, and the Tuatha De Danaan were mythical deities but never men of flesh and blood. It was the Iron Age Celts who first arranged the stories of the invasions into a neat triad. But it was the Fir Domhnann or Ernians who from a very remote period possessed the greater part of Ireland, and who today continue to constitute the major stock of the Irish nation. Archaeology confirms the tradition that they came to Ireland from Spain. Bronze Age culture arose among them and was carried to a pitch that made Ireland even in those remote times a source of civilizing influence in Britain and on the Continent.

Celtic wanderers from Gaul filtered into Ireland for many centuries, but it was not until the beginning of the fourth cen-

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tury B. C. that any great numbers of Iron Age Celts arrived. Mr. MacCall's account of the Celtic nation is a chapter not only of the greatest fascination but of the greatest importance. The Celts were not, he maintains, a race; nor yet an empire politically united; but a nation blended of three or more races, dominated by a race that seems to have come from the neighborhood of the Caspian Sea and to have been the ancestors of the Persians and other Eastern peoples also, and bound together by a rich culture of long growth and a body of philosophical and religious ideas having much nobility. Though these races, ethnologically akin, blended so well, yet a centuries-long struggle between them is, says Mr. MacCall, the true explanation of many of the martial legends of Ireland and of the dynastic wars that continued to the time of Brian.

"And So Began the Irish Nation" is a book that immeasurably, excitingly and fascinatingly expands the story of the land and the people of Ireland. Henceforth the race-conscious Gael must know not only his history but his ethnology and archaeology as well. Mr. MacCall has made that possible.

SHAEMAS O'SHEEL.

The Defender

Clarence Darrow, by Charles Yale Harrison. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, Incorporated. $4.00.

ALTHOUGH this is the first and only full-length biography of Clarence Darrow yet published, it reveals surprisingly little that we did not already know about the man and his career. But this paucity of new information is due to no failure on the part of Mr. Harrison either as an investigator or a recorder; rather, it is strong testimony of Mr. Darrow's wide renown among all classes of society. This veteran defender of so many *causes célèbres* is no mere "stuffed and periwig-pated pleader," intoning his brief before a learned court; his dramatic rôles as counsel for the defense in the first Debs trial, the Heywood and McNamara cases, the Scopes affair, and the Leopold-Loeb case, have kept him brilliantly and constantly in the public eye as the champion of the hopelessly pre-convicted. Clarence Darrow's deep love of humanity, his ardent advocacy of the Labor movement in America, his life-long war against the frigid code of "legal justice," and his invincible enmity toward prosecutors and privilege, are the chief features of the portrait Mr. Harrison sympathetically depicts.

It is a portrait whose deep-sunk furrows show a brooding sorrow for man's inhumanity to man. It was this sorrow that made Clarence Darrow the strongest man in any court that heard his grave and moving eloquence. According to his biographer he was not a great legal mind, and although a scrutiny of his cross-examinations would seem to place him among the ablest legal tacticians of his day, his forte was emotion rather than logic. It was his method to lay the full weight of human suffering and misery upon the jury, then ask them to decide whether they could conscientiously add to that weight by returning a verdict of "guilty." Apparently his method worked, for it is one of Darrow's happiest boasts that he has saved sixty-two men from the death penalty. In the majority of cases his clients have been laborers, unable to pay him a penny for his inspired efforts in their defense. Darrow received only three or four large fees in his half-century of practice; the much-mooted question of his fee in the Leopold-Loeb case is settled by Mr. Harrison who discloses that Darrow ultimately received only $30,000 for his labors in behalf of the two youths.

One derives the impression somehow that, in spite of his trenchancy on the subject of revealed religion, Clarence Dar-

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NEXT WEEK

PIUS XI, by the Reverend James H. Ryan, Rector of the Catholic University of America, undertakes an estimate of the accomplishments of the present pontiff in the first ten years of his reign. This comprehensive, but necessarily brief, summary gives perspective to a truly luminous career of one who in a state of almost unparalleled confusion in the world considers its activities not by the standard of little, immediate greedy gains but *sub specie aeternitatis*. . . . BEHIND THE BALANCED BUDGET, by Virgil Jordan, economist of *Business Week* and widely known as a vigorous and distinguished authority on business affairs, will discuss the national budget—presenting the arguments in favor of balancing it and the author's dissenting conclusions. . . . A BYSTANDER IN GENEVA, by Max Jordan, recounts the first-hand impressions of a highly competent international journalist at the recent disarmament conference. . . . MIDAS AND THE MICROPHONES, by Maurice L. Ahern, finds that a banker's rule of the movies, as a result of Wall Street's assuming financial control of Hollywood, is apt to be an efficiency organization without provisions for spectacular talent, with the result that the sick goose that used to lay the golden eggs may get sicker. . . . CHILD PSYCHOLOGY, by the Reverend Kilian J. Hennrich, inquires whether there is such a thing as reliable scientific child psychology outside of the Babel of fads and notions of theorists. . . . THE CATHOLIC POETRY SOCIETY, by Frederic Thompson, is a tale of possibilities fraught with dangers.

row is a man of deep if somewhat personal spiritual conviction. From his expressed religious views Darrow can best be described by the dated epithet "free-thinker," a term reminiscent of Robert Ingersoll, Brann the Iconoclast, and the whole school of nineteenth-century agnostics that the Haldeman-Julius Company has kept alive at a dozen for a dollar. Darrow's religious problems seemed to begin and end—much as Bryan's did—with fundamentalist questions out of Genesis; the fact that he was chiefly interested in "exposing" Bryan's literal interpretation of the Old Testament during the Scopes trial seems to indicate that Darrow was still strongly under the spell of those Garfieldian Bible-breakers who had been intoxicated by the first strong whiff of evolutionary science. Both in his religious and literary utterance Darrow always sounds a bit naive; as "The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayaam" seemed to him the grandest poem ever written, and one that he never failed to quote in his debates and trials, so Nietszche and Darwin held a peculiar fascination for him. They made him an agnostic in matters of biblical criticism, and a head-shaker at what was commonly referred to in 1895 as "the hereafter." Darrow always says, "I have no reliable information on these matters," but he says it with the air of a man who is too much of a spiritual optimist to cut off his own or anyone else's will to believe.

Mr. Harrison has written an eminently readable, but not a sufficiently penetrating, life of a great man. There is more to Clarence Darrow than the mere record of his cases—a spiritual residue that the biographer does not quite convey to readers who would like to know more than the external facts of this great humanitarian's life.

HENRY MORTON ROBINSON.

Poems of the Soul

Lyra Mystica: An Anthology of Mystical Verse; edited by Charles Carroll Albertson, with an Introduction by Dean Inge. New York: The Macmillan Company. $3.00.

IN HIS introduction to the present anthology, Dean Inge endeavors to define both mysticism and mystical poetry. He succeeds a little better, one thinks, than does the anthology itself. Not that this is without excellences, even of a distinctive kind. The task of ranging over recorded poetry to find lyrics which would blend appropriately in a collection could have been no easy one, and there is evidence to show that Mr. Albertson toiled hard.

To a certain extent the unevenness of his choices is accounted for by a desire to give most space to English and American poets, and to honor the contemporary period. But this attitude results in such curiosities as these: Angelus Silesius appears with one lyric, Mr. Clinton Scollard with three; Mr. Henry Herbert Knibbs is included, while Soeur Thérèse is omitted; modern Catholic poets in the United States whose misfortune it has been to appear subsequent to the Kilmers are not represented; recent French and German writers (notably Rilke) are ignored; and such lyrics as "Crossing the Bar" are dubbed mystical. Some errors of omission—for instance, failure to mention the anonymous author of "The Pilgrim," surely one of the finest mystical poets of our time—are likewise regrettable; and in general this anthologist has fought shy of the "advance guard."

Yet, when all has been said and done, this is a useful and beautiful collection, from several points of view easily the best of its kind. Though a small book in format, it has nearly 500 closely packed pages, on nearly every one of which something worth while can be found.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

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What Is War?

National Defense: A Study of the Origins, Results and Prevention of War, by Kirby Page. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $3.00.

KIRBY PAGE believes that an examination of the causes of the last war will help us to understand beforehand the probable causes of the next war. At the outset, in discussing the 1914-1918 debacle, he reminds us that it is necessary to free ourselves entirely from the various useful myths promulgated by the Allies during the course of the struggle and embodied in the Versailles Treaty. That Germany was solely or even mainly responsible for the war is believed today by few reputable historians. None of the nations involved actually wanted the war, yet each had gotten itself into a psychological condition that made war inevitable. The causes of this condition were manifold: the spirit of nationalism and imperialism, the emphasis on military establishments, the existence of economic rivalries, the force of entangling alliances, and, above all, the universal presence of fear.

All of these causes are as operative today as they were in 1914, according to Mr. Page's careful study of the situation. What hope is there, then, for the preservation of peace? None whatsoever, the author argues, as long as the nations preserve their will to war. Large armaments have proved in the past incentives to war, rather than preventives of it. And modern warfare being a game in which everybody loses, even the strongest armaments are no adequate means of national defense.

The United States owes its freedom from danger of invasion to its fortunate physical location and the good-will of its strongest neighbor, Canada. Distant economic or political interests endanger peace. Mr. Page ends his book with a "twenty-two point program for patriots," indicating the practical measures to insure peace. The most important of these are: clearer understanding of other peoples; reduction of high tariffs; entrance into the World Court and the League of Nations; abolishment of war debts; reduction of armaments; adoption of non-nationalistic text-books; removal of the R.O.T.C. from high schools and colleges; discouragement of Citizens' Training Camps. By working for all or any of these measures, one will be furthering the psychological attitude of war resistance in which lies our only hope.

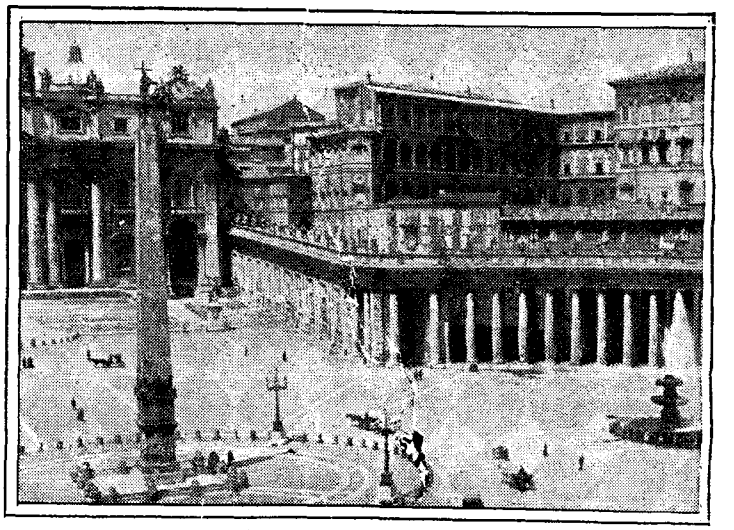
ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES.

Stephen Decatur

Decatur, by Irvin Anthony. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

TAKEN to sea as a lad of eight, that a persistent cough might be checked and his health restored, Stephen Decatur learned early of the mysteries of ships, of bellying topsails and rakish spankers.

His rise to fame is nothing short of meteoric in spite of the illustrious record of his paternal ancestors in naval affairs—his grandfather was an officer in the French navy, and his own father commanded American privateers during the Revolution. Stephen Decatur was born at Sinepuxtent, Maryland, on January 5, 1779. He accepted an appointment as a midshipman at nineteen, was made a lieutenant at twenty, and found himself in command of a ship at twenty-five. After a campaign against the Barbary pirates in which he distinguished himself by his daring exploits, culminating in the burning of the captured frigate Philadelphia at Tripoli in 1804, Decatur became a hero at home and abroad and was soon rewarded with greater honors.



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THE LITURGICAL PRESS
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In 1812 he achieved his greatest naval victory when, after a short but sharp engagement with Britain's crack ship Macedonian, he brought her as a prize of war into the harbor at New London. Decatur was assigned to land duty in 1815, after receiving formal and complete recognition of his brilliant record at sea. Appointed as one of the first Commissioners of the Navy, the highest post then open to a commissioned officer, Decatur devoted himself as assiduously to the welfare of the naval service as he had when in active duty. In place of the fiery and gallant spirit which characterized him as a commander, he brought to his new job the weight of his broad experience and the value of his expert counsel.

In his official capacity he became involved in the case of Captain James Barron, and when the latter found himself rebuked by his department for just cause he became offensive, directing his abuse at Decatur. Decatur treated Barron with respect and kindness, seeking delay as a remedial for Barron's wounded vanity. But the headstrong Barron would not be temporized, and the two finally met in a senseless duel at Bladensburg, Maryland, on March 22, 1820, ending Decatur's remarkable career at the age of forty-one.

We learn from this romance of the sea that "big navy" advocates are not at all modern; and that much of the chivalric tradition of the navy was born in these early days of which the author has given us a broad view. In fact, we are inclined to believe that the personality of Decatur is sometimes obscured, if not lost, in the recounting of much which the author has given us. Nevertheless, it is clear that Decatur's eminence as a leader and disciplinarian, as a student and innovator of naval warfare, is not due to the sudden and rapid growth of the navy. His brilliant record, gallantry in action, his steadiness under fire, and above all his sound judgment stamp him as one of the immortals of the United States Naval Service.

The author has brought to this book the result of extensive reading and research, as the bibliography testifies. Moreover, it is a story which Mr. Anthony's lively style and intimate knowledge of naval matters has made interesting and fascinating.

FRANCES XAVIER DISNEY.

Vanitas

Emmaus: A Book of Poems, by Raymond Kresensky. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press.

IN THE writing of poetry, there are two well-known technical ways of obtaining a spiritual effect. The one is to work from the concrete to the abstract: the poet so powerfully portrays the beauty of the actual world and of the human being, that exaltation and spiritual significance pervade his entire work. The other method begins with the abstract and touches the concrete sometimes not at all, sometimes fleetingly in order to contrast the weakness of man and the transient glories of earth with the eternal values.

It is the second method to which Mr. Kresensky adheres most faithfully in this volume. He speaks of machines, of laborers, of cities, of nature; but he uses the things of earth not as symbols for impermanence and materialism, rather as realities which, temporal though they are, have no small share in the forging of the human soul.

His religious fervor is honest and intense. His interpretations of incidents in the life of Christ are imaginatively and emotionally handled. He is too often careless as to diction and rhythm, however, and his figures of speech are neither organic nor memorable. His frequent use of invocation, while sincere, becomes tiresome and detracts from the strength of the poems.

FRANCES M. FROST.

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Briefer Mention

Westward Passage, by Margaret Ayer Barnes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

READ simply as a story, this account of how a middle-aged divorcée became temporarily infatuated with her artistic and impossible first husband again, and almost left her provident and comforting second husband in consequence, has its points. Mrs. Barnes's irony is gentle and urbane, she is concerned with a social group who are unaffectedly well-bred and agreeable, her writing is competent without virtuosity, assuring the reader intelligent entertainment without the tax of overstimulation. But when one passes to the objective social meaning of the facts from which Mrs. Barnes has woven her pleasantly surfacy tale, one becomes very thoughtful. That Mrs. Barnes misses the real importance of these facts is only an added testimonial to that importance. It only means that divorce is an established thing among us, a rooted human phenomenon, like parenthood or falling in love. For, plainly, Mrs. Barnes is not here defending divorce, any more than she is attacking it. She is merely accepting it, without scrutiny, almost without consciousness, as part of the fixed social background against which a clever novelist can sketch an amusing situation. And this is really saying, not that these recognizable and representative people of whom she writes, believe in divorce, but that they do not believe in marriage.

The Autobiography of an Adventurer, by J. L. Trebitsch-Lincoln. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $2.50.

SIMON PURE, or amoral, adventuring if one should judge by the present amazing book, would seem to have lost its amateur standing, and to have become involved with big business and politics that envisage grandiose commercial advantages. Certainly it is no less fantastic than when its aims were romantic nor are its disillusions less complete. In the present instance, the writer has a convincingly naive and circumstantial manner of narration that lends to his incredible schemings and contretemps not only the illusion of matters of fact but also the special immediacy of illusion of fiction. Of particular interest are the revelations of how clever schemers, by the manipulation of a few men with big names, can engineer revolutions—superficial revolutions, that is, such as the Kapp *putsch* in Germany and various operations of fairly recent date in China which leave the populace wondering what it is all about. Incidentally, the writer goes through some spiritual adventures which run from Jewish orthodoxy, through Presbyterianism, the Church of England, a very rarefied Unitarianism and finally end in Buddhism. It is all very extraordinary and brisk reading.

Is Germany Finished?, by Pierre Viénot. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

PIERRE VIÉNOT is an intelligent Frenchman, of leftward persuasions, who has tried both to find out what Germany is all about and to enlighten his fellow countrymen. The book begins where Friedrich Sieburg leaves off, showing that the present situation in Germany is primarily the result of a *Kulturkrise* based fundamentally on the collapse of the middle class. It is an able, succinct and tolerant essay which will interest those concerned with larger aspects of modern culture. Though Viénot is possibly too much influenced by the views of German left-wing moderates and too ready to grant the representative character of Berlin, his outlook is sufficiently objective to be valuable.

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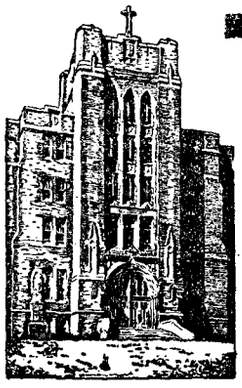

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Stendahl the Romantic Rationalist, by William H. Finesherber, jr. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. $1.50.

PRINCETON offers an annual prize for the best senior essay in English. This year's recipient has written a studious, urbane and generally discerning summary of Stendahl's life with incidental critical references to the novels and essays. It is refreshing to see that a normal American university can encourage a young man to do work so creditable and useful. On the other hand, Mr. Finesherber displays an almost characteristically American indifference to style. Participial constructions in series, awkwardly placed connectives and a frequently limping vocabulary are faults which he may learn to master but which far too many simply keep on ignoring.

The New American Literature. By Fred Lewis Pattee. Students' Edition. New York: The Century Co. $2.75.

EVERY student of American letters will feel indebted to Professor Pattee, who has been energetic enough to read a very great deal and sufficiently honest to say what he thought. As a rule the opinions are on the side of the angels. Every man has his blind spots; Professor Pattee occasionally needs glasses. The present volume extends in theory from 1890 to 1930, but it is inevitable that the hitherside margins should be blurred. One noticeable omission is virtually all reference to Catholic literary activity. For Professor Pattee, such periodicals as THE COMMONWEAL and *America* do not exist.

Hindenburg: The Man with Three Lives, by T. R. Ybarra. New York: Duffield and Green. $3.00.

PRESIDENT and Former Field Marshal von Hindenburg is an interesting figure regarding whom much has been said and written. That a man past eighty should abide as the veritable symbol of German unity and order is a genuine historical phenomenon. Though several books regarding his life have now appeared, Mr. Ybarra rightfully supposes that a sprightly American journalist's account may appeal to many. His volume tells the whole story, without itself claiming to be more than stanch reporting.

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